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CUTTING THE GORDIAN KNOT

BY

GENERAL PERCY DANIELS,

AUTHOR OF

"A CRISIS FOR THE HUSBANDMAN."



"A hurry of hoofs in the village street,
"A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark
"And beneath from the pebbles in passing, a spark
"Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;
"That was all! And yet through the gleam and the light,
"The fate of a nation was riding that night."

LONGFELLOW.

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PITTSBURG KANSAN PRINT.

—1896.—

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BY

GENERAL PERCY DANIELS,

AUTHOR OF

"A CRISIS FOR THE HUSBANDMEN."

Awaken, ye toilers ! Arouse from your dreams !
Put your ballots together to stop the huge streams
Of booty that flows to the coffers of wealth,
From the pockets of labor by channels of stealth.
Unceasingly flows in flood or in drouth
To plunder the toilers of the North and the South,
That is the warning, the hour is here,
When the startling message of Paul Revere,
With its cry of defiance, its notes in the night,
Will call forth the patriot hosts for the fight;
 Will awaken the slave
 To fetter the knave,
Now lord of a Nation he used to fear.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1896, by
—PERCY DANIELS.—

In the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

PITTSBURG KANSAN PRINT.

1896

ERRATA.

(CUTTING THE GORDIAN KNOT.)

| Page | Sec | Line, | For | Read |
|------|---|-------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| IV | | 11 | belonged | belong |
| VII | | 14 | discard | discarding |
| VII | | 48 | and | end |
| 19 | | 28 | the dollar | the \$100 |
| 30 | 5 | 12 | the roads | the two roads |
| 30 | 5 | 13 | the long | the <i>one</i> , long |
| 45 | 2 | 21 | enable | to enable |
| 43 | | 9 | ? | . |
| 67 | 3 | 24 | 24,977 | 24,997 |
| 69 | | 10 | <i>the</i> best | <i>her</i> best |
| 71 | Table—Arkansas, per cent. wealth 0.3 | | | 0.7 |
| 72 | 12 | 2 | with several | with <i>the</i> several |
| 73 | | 15 | <i>this</i> struggle | <i>the</i> struggle |
| 75 | | 23 | of bold | of <i>the</i> bold |
| 75 | | 23 | and brave | and <i>the</i> brave |
| 75 | | 25 | knew | know |
| 75 | | 28 | dredges | dregs |
| 77 | 19 | 11 | banishes | banished |
| 77 | 19 | 19 | of | or |
| 78 | 20 | 10 | estranges, and whatever | estranges, whatever |
| 79 | | 1 | their | the |
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| 81 | 22 | 3 | aid | Aid |
| 85 | | 8 | has just put | has put |
| 86 | | 9 | apostle | apostles |

PREFACE.

CUTTING THE GORDIAN KNOT is a blending of two proposed articles each of which is abbreviated, and they are united for lack of time, that they may reach, during the coming campaign, those who may have to chose this year between Democracy and Despotism.

The arguments in support of *A Graduated Property Tax* as a defensive measure against the advance of imperialism, are the concluding arguments in the series which I began as a Republican in 1888.

The discussion of the political situation in Kansas and of some events in our recent history, is a warning torpedo placed on the Populist track by a friendly hand.

The hosts of Plutocracy are already in the field. Their three branches of service are all actively at work on their respective lines of Intimidation, Deception and Purchase.

The People's party columns are in motion to meet them. *Forward!* is the word sent along the line. FORWARD! for the rescue of the Republic. FORWARD! as promised at Omaha; that we 'would never cease to move FORWARD till every wrong is righted."

Politics is a form of warfare. Its rational armament is the sword of the ballot. The art of war teaches how to take advantage both of natural formations and an enemy's errors: how to discern and reach, and when to occupy

strategic positions; and how to hold or push, to concentrate or scatter the various parts of an army, so they may best support each other, or confuse an enemy.

The history of the great struggles of races and states, is a history of blunders of one side or the other, and often of both, that have changed the destiny of nations. Their varied experiences illustrate the folly of ignoring strategy. They illustrate too, the folly of ignoring the lessons of blunders made, and disaster earned. Nor should the lessons from such blunders be confined to the written history of the past. *They may be studied and profitably studied from the text book of contemporaneous experiences.*

Cutting the Gordian Knot is written and issued at this time partly to aid in locating the shoals and snags among which our Populist navy is maneuvering, that it may keep in the channel; and to show the danger to a cause from granting too much power to a party ring; but more especially as a sequel to "*The Sunflower Tangle*" to develop the strong points in the measure it advanced and defended, through which the overburdened toilers may be relieved of the necessity of supporting an ornamental squad of idle aristocrats in luxury, and keeping an army of 5,000,000 tramps and paupers in rags and want;—a measure by which these useless extremes of society may be reclaimed and restored to the fold of industrious, useful, and contented citizens. The propriety and necessity of discussing some Populist errors for the first two purposes stated above, may be partly seen in the extracts from two of a large pile of letters on these questions, appended hereto.

The imperative demand for the enactment of some measures for accomplishing that which the bill endorsed by the People's Party Legislature and state officers of Kansas in 1893, would accomplish if made law, is too well known, and the need too urgent, to require any consideration in the preface.

The argument itself makes plain,
Why we must break the bondsman's chain
And set the farmer free again.
It will also then reveal
How we may raise the tyrants heel,
And write for him "*Thou Shalt not Steal.*"

PERCY DANIELS

Narragansett Farm, June 18th, 1896.

JOLIET, ILL., Jan. 8th, 1896.

Gen. Percy Daniels,
Girard, Kansas.

DEAR SIR:—

* * * * *

I have just read your pamphlet, "*Free Coinage of American Labor.*" with much interest. I feel called to urge you in the name of the anxious Populists of the land to put in a pamphlet more fully and explicitly the real reasons for the backset received by our party in Kansas in 1894. I ask you as the most reliable authority I know of, to tell the people why the leading Populist state did not keep at the head of the advancing column. Kansas used to be the pride of the Republican party as the state most most noted for patriotism, enlightenment and education when it gave that party 80,000 majority. When it turned Populist the Republicans cried it down as the abode of ignorant hay-seeds and long haired cranks.

* * * * *

It is evident that the hard times—Cleveland—Sherman "object lesson"—was too much for the integrity of some of our office holders and seekers in Kansas—leading them to imitate the "practical politics" of the old parties.

Now please tell us the worst and the best. Give us some hope if you can, that as far as Kansas is concerned, this is not becoming a nation of thieves and liars as some assert. * * * *

Very truly yours,

SAMUEL LEAVITT.

GIRARD, KAS., Jan. 27th, 1896.

Hon. Samuel Leavitt,

Joliet, Ill.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter of the 8th is received. It is full of good sense and hard questions. I realize the detriment which the result of the Kansas election of 1894 was to the reform movement in other states, on account of some of the causes that contributed to that result; but as is always the case, the farther the charges and stories get from home, the bigger and more mischievous they become. Those who belonged to the party for the hope they have that its work will be to promote good government, are forced to concede that the record of the Populist administration was not above reproach, but they now see that its faults and delinquencies have already been overshadowed by those of our successors who have not the inexperience or the difficulties to contend with that hampered the Populists.

Those who have worked with the party for the good they expect and demand it shall do for them, have followed the practices they learned in the old parties, covering up as far as possible methods and acts that deserve condemnation, and trusting to denials, and labeling them political yarns, to break their force. While the latter class are relatively small, they are slick—good mixers—good dodgers—and always reaching for something, if it is only standing room from which to reach for something else, and they live at the front and can thrive on the noise they make when unable to do better.

The Populists have a share of this class and in the rapid gathering of their forces it was impossible to know them at once. Some of these still occupy conspicuous seats in party councils, and their work and methods—the following well known and disreputable party tactics, and the ease with which they have been able to have questions of party policy settled by their standard, so shook the faith of the rank and file in the righteousness of the purpose of those who direct party movements, and for the time at least, control its destiny, that interest ebbed, enthusiasm languished, and the battle of '94 was lost.

Other influences had some effect in bringing disaster, like the woman suffrage question and a third ticket; but not enough to restore the Republicans to power without the failure of the Populists to abandon and condemn the disreputable methods of the old parties, and to denounce instead of screening some serious irregularities among their officials.

As you probably remember, I did nothing either for or against a renomination, caring more to see the Populist position strengthened, and its efforts centered against the main stronghold of the enemy's position, and the main cause of present unrest, than who should be chosen to carry its banners; but I was retired not on that account, but because of the use made by some of the slick twisters of what I said in "The Sunflower Tangle," by which I was

made to appear as attempting to dictate the platform. Some wanted to use my name for first place on the ticket, but I refused to permit that as it would not have been fair treatment of Governor Lewelling as well as for other reasons.

All of my efforts in politics have been in behalf of measures I have thought essential to good government, good order, and the welfare of the classes on whose prosperity and content is the only sure or proper foundation for our institutions; and I occasionally get as earnest in support of them as the wire pullers who are the mastodons of political manipulation and the pigmies of statesmanship do in fixing up their slates and setting them on a hill, or in pushing their intrigues. What I have done and said has been entirely without reference to the influence it might have on individual success before a convention. Measures, not men has been my policy, and so I have not been *in touch* with those whose efforts were expended in behalf of the individual especially.

Party manipulation in behalf of individuals, is one of the baneful habits of political leaders, and instead of being in touch with, I have won the displeasure of some of the strongest manipulators in our party, because, not having any instructions to report to them for orders, I have failed to recognize their whims as party law, or their whips as its executive.

April 19th, '96.

Well friend Leavitt, I laid this letter aside twelve weeks ago, was taken sick a day or two after, and did not read or write for ten days, and this like other correspondence got laid in a pile "awaiting attention," and one thing and another—a multitude of calls on my time—has kept me from completing it as soon as I would have done, had I known just what to say.

I have thought much over the questions raised by your letter, and I have also received many others discussing the disorder in Populist ranks. I have watched too with increasing interest and expectation the greater disorder and turmoil in the enemy's lines. What will do most to increase the uproar among the enemy and restore confidence and harmony among Populists, is a difficult question to answer. The state (Republican) administration, and the National (Democratic) are doing more for this than are the Populists. There are too many of our friends willing to approve a trimming and truckling policy, and to give free rein to expediency. The growth of this practice in all parties weakens my faith in Republican institutions.

You urge me to make a statement in pamphlet, giving the worst and the best features of the Populist administration here. The worst features were not near as bad as our enemies made out or as our distant friends believe; nor were the best features as good as we or our friends wished. We have not done all we should have done with the opportunities we

have had, but for what was accomplished under trying and perplexing conditions, the Populist party are entitled to the gratitude of the whole people. Both the experiences of the two years control, and the defeat which followed will enable them another time to do better than they did before, or than they could have done without the clarifying and invigorating disaster.

A better understanding too of the circumstances and perplexities surrounding us, and a realization that every trivial misstep was the basis of sensational criticism by hostile reporters seeking notoriety and sore-headed Republicans seeking revenge, has developed a more considerate feeling in ascribing some of the errors to treacherous scouts or a fallible judgment, rather than a corrupt intent or a vicious purpose. If we can now subdue and civilize the wire pullers, we will be in a position to again draw reinforcements from the *Landwehr*.

No one of our administration could fairly become a critic of its work as a whole; but the relation of personal experience in some cases might allay an unreasonable distrust and relieve the party of unjust censure. For one thing they deserve more of censure than they have received. That is in letting a supposed party interest decide too many issues. A state officer in his official capacity should be influenced but very little by the siren's song of party interest. This is a weak excuse for screening jugglery; and when jugglery is covered up on that plea, it uncovers the fact that the party needs clarifying.

The Populist party has been censured for what should have been put on individuals where it belongs, as the party had an opportunity to do through a Senate investigating committee. I appointed the first week of the session of 1895; but on the last day of the session, by a little sly work on the part of the Republicans and the R. R. lobby, they induced enough of our men to aid in defeating the investigation by accepting the report of a conference committee on the miscellaneous appropriation bill, with the item for expenses of the committee stricken out. It was a great mistake which the Republicans and the railroad interest chuckle over, and our people now see and regret.

There are records and documents to support an effort to relieve the party of some censure, by assisting individuals to shoulder their share of the responsibility; but there is a hostility among party officials, to anything that would indicate a lack of complete harmony, or of unanimous outward commendation of all of our record. Our papers do not give the drift of feeling over these matters, or the facts about the situation in our lines; and in attempting to deceive the enemy, they also deceive some of our own side.

I concede that something should be done to quell the disorder in our lines. While it is worse in the Republican camps, and they could hardly do more for our cause than they are doing here in Kansas, yet we should not depend for success on their folly; but should re-establish confidence in the justice of our plans and the integrity of our purposes by *hearing to the line* as demanded by the rank and file of the party. If we can do that, we would again win in spite of the vicious devices of a snarling and unscrupulous opposition. The only way I can see to re-establish the confidence necessary to success is by abandoning the methods and practices that have destroyed it; and discard the faithless leaders and recreant servants who have attempted to graft the reprehensible practices of the old parties on the new one. Men who have left the old party to seek something better will not be satisfied or pacified with the assurance that the new party is no worse.

Really, the People's party is, both in method and purpose, superior to the others; but it is not what it should be. There are too many who get into front seats who are always ready to resort to the dubious ways of the old parties, and to sell favors for votes and drown principle in pottage, for it to command the full confidence of a great body of the independent voters, whose support it needs and should win. Leaders have failed to realize the integrity of purpose in the ranks, and as yet hardly see why, if the Republicans never lose a campaign by the activity of their moral natures, the populists should not have the same license. Such a course breeds discontent among those who intend their banner of reform to be something more than a pretense; and this is the sentiment of a majority in the ranks. The sentiment of this class which is the backbone of the party, must be respected, and their protest honored, and their purpose considered, if the party is to be held together to overthrow the forces of corruption and a monied despotism. No one person can stop the tendency to fall into old party ways, but each of us who despise them can exert some influence in that direction; and no one person can undo the mischief caused by a failure to do as well as the party promised their agents should do, or be held to a strict accountability; but there are many who can each do a little toward it, and I may contribute something to that, and before summer.

I am at work now on an article to close a series on Graduated Taxation. I presume you have noted the growth of Graduated Tax sentiment. The N. Y. Populists adopted it last fall. The Penn. Alliance endorsed my bill last December and petitions for its passage are now being circulated in several states, under the auspices of *The Graduated Taxer* of Berlin, Pa.

I have just prepared my petition to send to Congress for the third time. Mr. Baker will introduce the bill. This graduated tax question is destined to

become one of the leading questions of the near future,—possibly of the coming campaign. Both Judge Allen and I are on the St. Louis delegation and we would like to see graduated taxation put into the platform.

This article I am now at work on will uncover some heretofore unseen features of the bill which no one has caught onto. If this principle can only become a leading topic, the party that embraces it will sweep the country.

* * * * *

Yours very truly,

PERCY DANIELS.

The Midnight Message of Paul Revere.

CHAPTER I.

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I. THE SHADOWS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY CIVILIZATION AND PHILOSOPHY.

THREE-FOURTHS of the progress of the world during the last two centuries, in mechanics, in the sciences—in what we call civilization and culture, has been crowded into the last half of this wonderful nineteenth century, and where do we find ourselves?

Our civilization is a civilization of sordid and debasing greed; of wild intoxication and of a sensuous and senseless vanity. Our ethics is the philosophy of ignoring the great

duties of life for the purpose of making butterflies noble and drones exalted; and our religion, as exemplified in a composite perspective of the whole people, and by the priests and prelates who honor and serve these butterflies and drones first, and then Jehovah, is too largely made up in mumbling prayers to God, asking Him to prolong our folly; to bless our lust for mammon and our efforts in teaching contented pagans the enervating vices and dubious philosophy of our vaunted culture and our watered and capitalized parody of civilization, to let the true spirit of Christianity find room in the composite picture. A pellucid theology has formed a combine with mammon worship to drive Christianity from the churches, and in many cases the doors of so-called sanctuaries are already closed against the humble followers of the Son of God by the bespangled and besotted sentries of greed, conceit and pride; and going into the highways and byways, the fields and forests where the God of prophesy, of science and of nature still holds communion with His loyal children, they find rest and strength and consolation in a sanctuary where the "mountains and the hills break forth before them into singing, and the trees of the fields clap their hands."

The rapid development of the influences and growth of the impulses that have brought forth these unhallowed results, and the wonderful strides that have been made under the direction of pampered priests and petted professors in the overthrow or subjugation of every force hostile to their senseless sway, or that even questions their wisdom, threaten the fabric of our institutions

2. DRIFTING INTO THE BREAKERS.

From thousands of reliable sources in the past few years has come the information that the nation is drifting from her once safe anchorage and fast going toward the breakers. Evidences of this have accumulated until information has become knowledge; and yet how few among the millions who suppose they are patriots, stop in their mad chase after their tawdry idol to comprehend the portentous meaning of this startling statement. The shifting scenes and wind tossed spray and distant roar seem but to offer a transient amusement.

Do you not know what it means—that millions are cringing in want in a land of plenty—famishing in the shadow of the graneries they have builded and filled? Do you not see them lying in the gutter, thirsting, beneath the puncheons of wine they have trodden out? Can you not hear their pleas for shelter as they crouch in the doorways of the homes they have made, from which they have been cast out?

We know these things. We see and hear and know them all; but the sea of greed on which we float awhile has blurred our comprehension. Our Christian impulses are dormant. Our understanding of right and wrong is seared and our conception of human obligation is paralyzed by contact with the grating, grinding forces about us, the dancing wreckage and projecting rocks—till the tales of woe and knowledge of wrong only touch our senses like some grand picture of a storm at sea.

A vivid, life-like picture of the mighty ocean's fury, of frightful waves and treacherous crags, a sinking ship and drowning men.

hardly disturbs our placid contemplation of the work of art; but we pause to pay a tribute to the genius of the artist.

Much in the same spirit we have come to look on the latter-day conditions under which we live; the boundless sunshine for the few, the endless shadow for the many; the feasting and revelry of the classes, the long hours of labor and short bill of fare of the masses; the marble castles and summer villas, the flying yachts and numberless attendants for the masters, the comfortless quarters, the scant raiment and lack of recreation for the slaves,—as incidents in the grand picture of our civilization; and we daily join the giddy throng who go to worship the genius of the great crooks, with cunning and brass and brains enough not only to plunder the multitude and escape their vengeance, but to rob them of the honor of the great works they have reared, the laurels for the grand victories they have won.

3.

EVERY MAN'S RIGHT.

By the laws of God and of nature every human being who comes into this world is entitled to an opportunity and place to work to procure the necessities of life. This is his right as much as to have air at his nostrils for every respiration.

The Divine command, "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," does not simply carry the order to labor. It carries with it the privilege, the opportunity, the right to do this; and he who denies this is preaching the doctrine of *damnation* as an amendment to the plan of *salvation*.

Our organic law reiterates the Divine command; and those who are not willing to see it enforced, or even ready to help enforce it,

are traitors to the flag that protects them and Pharisees of a civilized idolatry. Republican governments are organized to protect the individual in the enjoyment of this right to labor; and to guarantee to him against all forces and aggressors the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That is the promise to, and contract of our government with every one of its loyal citizens. It is maintained by them and its expenses paid for this purpose, and in keeping this contract it must defend him in the full enjoyment of the rights it confers against any and all combinations. The facts above stated are evidence that it is not keeping its contract or fulfilling its mission. They are evidence that instead of keeping its contract with the individual citizen it is aiding the combinations and has joined the forces oppressing him.

There are ample laws to protect him from his assailants, but most of them cannot be enforced because the courts and the law's representatives hold their positions by the favor of these powerful interests. Some of the laws too that have been passed ostensibly to prevent these outrages, have been cunningly drawn to be inoperative and to prevent the passage of real remedial measures.

4. HYPOCRITICAL STATUTES.

There are laws to prevent discrimination between shippers by railroads; but most of them grant rebates to their selected friends. If the full penalties could be enforced, they would be compelled to forfeit their charters, which are accepted under the condition that the rights they convey shall be properly exercised.

There are laws against the combinations of corporations for the purpose of controlling prices or the quantity of their product. The Sherman law against trusts was passed with a great blare of trumpets and a great show of virtue, but it is as harmless and impotent as any of the acts which have been passed for the purpose of preventing or heading off real remedial measures. When the U. S. Senate as now organized, passes an act for the suppression of the trusts it will include a section for the extinction of the U. S. Senate.

5. THE GREAT COAL TRUST.

The most gigantic combination ever made, a combination controlling the output and price of anthracite coal and the railroads taking it to market, has recently gone into operation.

The New York World of Feb. 3rd, 1896, describes it as follows:

"A new trust, greater, richer, stronger, more important than any other trust in existence, has been formed and begins actual operations to-day.

"Involving thousands of miles of railroad and more than \$2,000,000,000 capital of the Vanderbilts and J. Pierpont Morgan, it is far ahead of the wildest dreams of wealth and monopoly which the late Jay Gould ever conceived. J. Pierpont Morgan is the master spirit and originator in the new trust, the magnitude of whose operations makes the profits of a gold ring seem insignificant and trifling. The anthracite coal mining and railroad companies sold last year 43,000,000 tons of coal at an average wholesale price of \$3.08. It is proposed by the new trust to raise the price to \$4 a ton. On decreased production an increased profit of \$38,000,000 is assured and will be divided among 11 companies. It is easy to estimate what a per capita tax this means upon the country.

"The great Coal Trust begins its operations to-day by advancing the price of coal 35 cents a ton. This increase is only the first step, but it means over \$15,000,000 increased cost to consumers and even greater profit to the Trust, as many middlemen and selling agents are to be dispensed with.

"The permanency and success of the Trust is not doubted by the most skeptical in Wall street, because the companies which have broken every previous trust agreement are now absolutely controlled by Mr. Morgan or the Vanderbilts. The new trust is a giant, compared to which the Standard Oil, the Sugar, the Tobacco and the Leather Trusts are mere pigmies. A. A. McLeod, during his meteoric career as President of the Reading Railroad and coal mines, tried to form such a trust five years ago, but the New Jersey Legislature annulled his lease of two rival companies and J. Pierpont Morgan finished his career by shutting him out of New England and forcing the securities McLeod had pledged to carry through his Boston and Maine deal on to the market in a panic. Now more than 90 per cent. of the Reading Railroad stock has been deposited with Mr. Morgan for reorganization and a voting trust created for five years.

"The magnitude of these interests since the monopoly of anthracite coal mining has now been added to the enormous railroad interests already centralized is so vast and far reaching that bankers and railroad men cannot estimate its ultimate effect.

"Excluding the bonds the new coal and railroad trust stands for nearly \$1,900,000,000 capital and 24,530 miles of railroad. This capital stands for two and a half times the entire bonded debt of the United States."

This new trust can organize an army as "Iron police," and by advancing the price of coal to pay them, quarter them on the families of the East.

6. HOME USE FOR THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The Monroe Doctrine applied to the defense of the rights of the people demands that a measure for the suppression of this and similar combinations be enacted at once. Though we in Kansas burn very little anthracite coal, we use oil, sugar, matches, and a hundred other articles that are produced and distributed under similar restrictions; and every new one of these illegal combinations formed, helps in organizing others and taxes the people for the funds to enable them to do it. Every one of them destroys more and more of our constitutional rights, encroaching farther and farther on the limits of individual liberty.

This new trust has now the power to lower the wages of every anthracite miner, or to cut off their supplies of food and fuel at any whim or caprice, any tyrannical impulse or sudden craving for more dividends, of the management. The new profit they notify the public they demand, is a notice to Eastern manufacturers and their help, to the men who handle their goods, and to the railroads that take them to the consumer, to add another item to their expense account. Their new profit is to begin with an additional tax of \$38,000,000, and this is levied, not simply on the consumers of anthracite coal, but on the industries and people of the whole country.

This new combination is in open defiance of law, and its expressed purpose is a notice that in violation of statutes it will confiscate and steal from the people the coming year \$38,000,000 more than last year.

7. PUBLIC SENTIMENT AND THE COMMON THIEF.

If a horse thief or a safe cracker was known to be lurking in the neighborhood seeking an opportunity to ply his vocation, officers would expend the value of a horse or a safe if necessary, to prevent his operations or catch the little miscreant, for the purpose of showing their efficiency. Public sentiment is brave enough to require the enforcement of law against the ragged and hungry pilferer, but not against our spangled and dazzling pirates. *Individual sentiment* favors the enforcement of the law against both classes of criminals, but *public sentiment*, that teaches the officer what law to enforce and what to ignore, cowers before the frown of these petted pirates, and cries for the release of Barabbas.

8. THE GREAT PIPE LINE.

So in open violation of law, these leeches have been permitted to prosecute their designs and protected in perfecting their appliances for plundering the masses, until they have practically got a pipe line laid and in operation, from every grainery and feed lot in the West; from every cotton field, rice swamp, and truck patch in the South; from every forge and bench and case and block. North or South—a pipe line through local trade centers to the great commercial marts, that carries all the profits, and often more, of our industrial and producing classes to the coffers of the great speculators and bond manipulators and usurers and plunderers who own the lines. And gliding along through this dank and sinuous way, is a current that never turns—a tide that never ebbs—flowing without cessation and with constantly increasing volume, always and ever pouring its stream of spoils into the coffers and vaults and warehouses of the great pirate chiefs.

Public sentiment has been gradually educated and trained by influential papers, and by public speakers and instructors who are owned or leased by the owners of these pipe lines, into assenting to the wild theory that the ability shown and success achieved in designing and constructing these gigantic systems of fraud, have given present claimants vested rights in their plunder. When this present appalling and seemingly impregnable system of brigandage and imposture was in its infancy, the Editor's Historical Record in Harpers Magazine for April, 1873, contained the following in an article on transportation (p. 787).

In railroad operations, financially considered, there has been the same tendency which has been shown in the operations of the Western Union Telegraph Company. The railroad, like the telegraph, owed its existence in the first instance to necessity—a necessity absolutely imperative in a country of such extent as ours. The wealth of far-seeing capitalists came forward to meet this necessity before the latter can be said to have been fairly appreciated by the people, or even by our legislators. The last decade has been the beginning of the speculators' Millennium. Our civil war opened up to them the promised land. In the fluctuations and uncertainties of a troublous era, the country, standing in need of wealth that could immediately be transformed into supplies for its armies in the fields, was, or seemed to be, compelled to enter into a hasty compact with the capitalists, whereby the latter gained marvelous advantages—first, in securing a most profitable investment of their wealth; and secondly, in securing for themselves not only an extraordinary rate of interest, but also immunities from the taxation usually incident to remunerative investments. Thus a heavy burden of taxation fell upon labor and upon productive industry. The era of railroad speculation followed; and a new burden was added to the monetary exaction upon industry expressed in taxation.

* * * * *

“These railroad speculators also seemed to respond to a pressing need, and they went to Washington with grand schemes for “developing the resources of the country.” They knew of what stuff politicians are made. Oakes Ames knew his ground. Thomas C. Durant boldly confesses having paid for the election of an Iowa Senator. So with Burbridge and the rest. Land grants were necessary to furnish a basis for mortgages, and these could be obtained only by Congressional action. The grants are secured, the bonds are issued, the roads are built, the stock becomes valuable, and at the proper time is sold, passing into the hands of other speculators, who neither care for nor study the interests of the community. In this case the owners of the bonds are helpless. The speculators and the politicians banded together have entangled them in hopeless embarrassment.

“The plea under which this system originates—the necessity of railways for the development of the resources of the country—is a just one. The fault is in the system and its inevitable results. The evil will only be removed when railroads are owned by those who construct them, and who manage them in the interests of commerce, clearly understood and adequately met.

“The internal commerce of the United States is greater than that of any other five nations. But the fruits of this vast industry are harvested by mo-

monopolists who oppress the agriculturist and producer on one hand, and the consumer on the other. They control legislation, and assume imperial powers over citizens as over the industry of the country. The rates of transportation are raised to the highest point that will allow of the bare existence of industry.

If those who were directly interested in the industry of the country had built our railroads, the carrying interests would have been subservient and secondary, as it should be. We should have now more as well as cheaper facilities of transportation, and the wealth which is now drained from industry, and which drifts into speculative channels, would return into the legitimate channels of industry. Labor, both agricultural and mechanical, would have been emancipated from serfdom, and the dignity of labor would have led to a universal system of industrial education. The exorbitant cost of transportation has more than any thing else enhanced the difficulties of the labor problem.

* * * * *

The universal opposition of labor and industry throughout the country to the railroad monopolies is evident. Every trade congress, and especially every agricultural convention, makes this the most prominent element in its discussions.

* * * * *

The railroad is of necessity a monopoly, and the tendency to consolidation is natural, and is not in itself an evil. The simplicity and unity of management are economical and desirable. It is the purpose of consolidation that is offensive, because it is tyrannical because the concentration is one of despotism.

The State has these powers. It can revoke the charters, or it can buy the property of the railroads, or it can supervise their operations by commissions, as in Illinois and Massachusetts.

* * * * *

The State can plainly prevent frauds like those perpetrated upon the public by the Erie Railway Company, which pays dividends on stock fraudently issued.

The report of the Massachusetts Board of Railroad Commissioners is extremely discouraging, especially in the conclusions which it arrives at indicating the inefficacy of mere legislation. The better success of European nations in the management of railroads has been accomplished almost exclusively through the machinery of the executive.

9. A SLEEPING PEOPLE.

The American people have been sleeping since the above article was written and allowed the trusts to multiply; the corporations to increase their power; the courts to feed

them from our cribs: politics to become the science of making plunderers appear respectable and aiding pirates to call themselves honest, and the slickest band of thieves that ever the sun shown on to complete their system of pipe lines and garner the spoils.

The great problem before us now is how to devise and construct a channel for a counter current without the use of a bayonet or the startling blasts of war.

When we can start a counter current that will carry a volume twice as large as the one that now drains the pockets of labor, we will send an invitation to the usurping Plutocrat to lay aside his brief authority and abdicate his crown; an invitation that will be as effective as the call of the archangel, or the united tramp of labors legions in marshal array, to restore their exiled Prince.

10. A PROTEST IN BEHALF OF THE VICTIMS.

The Omaha platform is a living protest against these conditions. It is a warning to the owners of these systems of drainage, not to make their capacity any greater, and not to extend the system. While it says "Wealth belongs to him who creates it," it fails to say that wealth acquired by the new processes of stealing gives present possessors no more vested rights in it than that taken by the gentlemanly highwayman. It says to these plunderers, as the Republican party first said to the slavery extremists, Stop where you are! Showing that those who have the wealth of the country have done the least to create it, it does not propose a way by which those who have created it may yet acquire some of it. It concedes it contains no measure adequate for that object; and yet that is the inspiring purpose of the People's party.

But at the same time it extends an invitation to all its members to suggest something that will restore a part of America's wealth to its creators. It asked for projects that might be more effective, far reaching, and acceptable to the Farmers Alliance voters than the chance to borrow on products which was offered to the farmers in the sub-treasury bill.

11. THE PROMISE TO MOVE FORWARD.

The Omaha platform is not only a living protest against the conditions under which we live, but it contains a most lucid and truthful description of them. Denunciation of unjust conditions, discriminating laws and corrupt practices are useful, both for calling public attention to them, and when made by as earnest and patriotic an assemblage as convened at Omaha, July 4th, 1892, as the index of a purpose to aid in their correction. This was the object of the statements in the platform. It was not simply to testify to their existence, but to record an intent to right them, which from its organization has been the purpose of the People's party.

As a member of that convention I know they did not consider that the changes and legislation called for in the declaration would restore the wealth of the nation to those who have earned it. These would be a first and long step in stopping the spoliation but not in correcting the wrong. It was not supposed that the party would be satisfied or its mission fulfilled by the enactment of the measures outlined in the declaration; and in fact the preamble asserts that "The forces of reform this day organized will never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied and equal rights and equal privileges securely established for all the men and women of this country."

Their purpose was and is to right *every wrong*; and they expected to add to their propositions as investigation revealed the necessity.

12. THE CONSISTENCY OF CHANGE.

Emerson says:

“Speak now what you think in hard words; and to-morrow speak what to-morrow thinks in hard words, though it contradicts every thing you said to-day.”

This same idea appears in the introduction to Pope's Homer as follows:

“To be content with what we at the present know is for the most part to shut our eyes against conviction; since, from the very gradual character of our education, we must continually forget, and emancipate ourselves from knowledge previously acquired. We must set aside old notions and embrace new ones and as we learn, we must be daily unlearning something which it has cost us no small labor and anxiety to acquire.”

At Omaha we spoke what we had fully thought out, but we left many ideas and dimly seen thoughts to grow and mature.

A to-morrow has come with its more complete view of the situation:—a to-morrow with its new light, its brighter opportunities, its additional incentives, and looking at the covenant there made with the toilers, we find we have promised to “never cease to move forward until every wrong is remedied.”

13. DIABOLICAL DEVICES FOR PLUNDERING THE MASSES.

Since the date of the Omaha convention the conditions we deplore and hope to correct have been rapidly growing worse. At the same time our knowledge of the causes and conception of the danger they threaten has steadily increased. The more diabolical financial policy of government has been a wonderful help to the masters in their schemes of spoliation; but even this has played second fiddle to the use made of the ever in-

creasing power which constantly flows into the hands of the few, in putting in operation new and more intricate machinery for carrying out their plans of plunder and persecution.

The developments of the past four years have revealed something beyond the necessity of adding more stringent projects to the foundation laid at Omaha. They have shown the utter absurdity of trying to restore a part of the wealth of the nation to those who have created it, by any multiplicity of projects that leaves in the hands of the few, the billions they have forced labor to halt and deliver by standing in the highway, armed with legislative mandates and court decrees, which they have bought and paid for the same as the relatively honorable and prosperous highwayman pays for his Winchester; or by any new devices for borrowing that would be out of reach of those who need help the most. Hence we realize that the necessity for remedial measures becomes more urgent and imperative. The necessity for them could hardly have a more cogent illustration than the plans of the great coal trust already referred to, or the reports of financial transactions furnished the courts in the Santa Fe reorganization and receivership.

14. AN INFAMOUS ORDER.

Another telling illustration of recent occurrence, is the nefarious decision of the income tax cases by the Supreme Court, that practically amends the constitution by blotting out a right under it which the people have enjoyed and exercised at their pleasure for a century.

This decision reveals anew the spirit of the oppositions which the masses have got to overcome, and the combinations that have

been made to thwart them. The effort to put an insignificant tax of one-tenth of one per cent on a class that would not feel it, was but a sop at best, and its defeat shows the futility of striking a pawing, prancing bull with a wisp of hay, when, as in this case, there are effective weapons at hand with which to force the threatening bovine back to his stanchions, as there also are to drive this audacious pack of mutineers back into the ranks of patriots.

15. "POSSESSED OF A DEVIL."

Our constitution has grown in the past 100 years. It is putting out horns now. In Washington's time an income tax was constitutional. The men who made it were there to keep its vital parts in order and in sight. In Lincoln's day the brazen beast had not the nerve or power to put his muddy hoofs on this inherent right to blot it out. Now the masses sleep. A traitorous gang is in command. Their only aim is plunder. And while the slaves are sleeping or cower before the master's lash, this justice scorning, law defying gang tear down what they please that stands twixt them and what they seek.

Under these new incentives, is the propitious time for the drum corps of the masses to sound their reveille; and lines to form to stop the imperious and usurping millionaires in their mad rush to further loot the camps of labor and then dash on to anarchy.

This income tax decision should be enough to convince the West and South of the impossibility of ever again getting a show of justice under our present constitution. Before this last straw was laid on our backs we felt we had been robbed long enough by the barbarities of capital in its control of com-

mercial channels, by the operation of the pipe lines it has constructed, and by methods and measures of taxation that were inaugurated to meet other conditions than those under which we now live. This last straw is an *order* from Plutocracy's court to the wealthy East to shirk more of their fair share of public burdens than on special occasions they had been before allowed to. They know this was done for the purpose of fastening an additional ratio on the impoverished producers.

16. MOLOCH FRANCHISED AND JUSTICE ENJOINED.

Though made by Plutocracy's vassals it carries the weight of the whole government authority. It is not only an injunction against molesting their smuggling pipe line or disturbing, even by dropping a pebble, the steady flow of the great current of the nation's profits, at the outlet; but it conveys to the owners of this line a perpetual and exclusive franchise; prohibiting the people, whose profits it sucks up, from constructing a dandelion stem pipe to start a counter current.

The people of the West and South understand what this decision signifies. They realize the portentous meaning of the notice it serves. This notice never would have been served did not the masters in their castles feel secure in the belief that the slaves in the fields were powerless to resist.

17. GALLING TAXATION.

The appalling injustice of our system of taxation was too much for the masses to patiently bear without this last straw. Before this last encroachment our constitution permitted and authorized the wealthy to

shirk their just proportion of public burdens. *As now amended by the courts, it orders them to.* The plundered masses will now demand of these haughty tyrants, who were not satisfied with the unequal privileges they before enjoyed, a change in the constitution if they have an ambition to again possess the manhood and enjoy the opportunities of a free people. They will demand too, that the more oppressive, galling, and piratical processes of plunder shall be terminated; and they are deliberately debating the question whether the present possessors of the bulk of the nation's accumulations have acquired vested rights in their booty, and whether some of it may not be rightly restored to the pockets of the victims, by a peaceable process of taxation and public expenditure.

But very few yet realize the full injustice of our constitution under the present distribution of values, which says in Art. 1. Section 2. "Direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers." That is, that it must be in proportion to the number of people in each state.

18. HOW IT WORKS UNDER PRESENT CUSTOMS.

The methods of indirect taxation also, under which most of our present national revenues are derived, are practically the same, amounting to a per capita tax. So if we see how the direct tax provided for in the constitution, would work under present conditions, we will see with very little deviation, the injustice of present methods. The wrongs the latter have already accomplished are beyond computation, but they are not beyond the power of a Republican government,

justly administered, to correct, so far as the living go. That they are beyond the purpose of our present ruling forces needs no argument to sustain, as they are a result of their schemes and efforts and our apathy and blind confidence. The question now is: Are they beyond *our* power and ability to remedy?

To know by how serious an imposition the funds for the support of the National government are collected, will certainly stimulate the efforts for a change. In round numbers it costs us seven dollars apiece to pay the yearly bills of the government. The assessed valuation per capita of some of the states in 1890 was as follows: Massachusetts, \$962; Rhode Island, \$931; California, \$911; New Hampshire, \$699; Iowa, \$272; Kansas, \$244; Georgia, \$226; Illinois, \$212; Nebraska, \$174; South Carolina, \$146; North Carolina, \$145.

The people of all these states are practically taxed seven dollars apiece per annum, so the man in Massachusetts where the valuation averages \$962, with a family of five, pays \$35 on \$4,840, and the man in Kansas pays \$35 on \$1220, and the man in North Carolina pays \$35 on \$725. Reduced to the usual formula, it shows that the Massachusetts man pays 73 cents on the dollar; Rhode Island, 75 cents; California, 77 cents; New Hampshire, \$1.00; Iowa, \$2.57; Kansas, \$2.87; Georgia, \$3.10; Illinois, \$3.30; Nebraska, \$4.02; and the Carolinas \$4.80 and \$4.83. Thus when \$1.00 on the \$100.00 is levied on the people of Massachusetts, we in Kansas have to pay \$3.93 per \$100.00, the citizens of Nebraska \$5.51 and the Carolinas \$6.58 and \$6.62.

This computation is based wholly on the assessed valuation; and while being reliable enough to show the abominable injustice of the system and of the constitutional provis-

ions, there are two other factors that would have to be considered to reach a perfectly accurate result. These factors are the ratio of assessed to true value and the amount of property assessed in the several states which is owned by non-residents. There is no available data for ascertaining these other quantities. The census reports give tables that jump at the former, but there are no reports that even jump at the latter. Taking the census ratios of assessed to true value as a basis, the disparity as between states, in the above figures, would be reduced in some cases; and taking the actual ownership of property by residents, the relative burden on the people of many of the debtor states would be increased. The following are some of the ratios of assessed to true value reported by the census of 1890.

| | Per cent. | | Per cent. |
|--------------------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| New Hampshire..... | 81 | Massachusetts | 77 |
| Rhode Island | 64 | Maine..... | 63 |
| New Jersey..... | 62 | Vermont | 61 |
| Georgia | 49 | New York..... | 44 |
| Pennsylvania | 43 | South Carolina..... | 42 |
| Indiana | 41 | North Carolina.... | 40 |
| Kansas..... | 19 | Illinois..... | 16 |
| Nebraska | 14 | | |

Taking the states of New York and Georgia as illustrations, we see New York, assessed on the basis of 44 per cent., has \$631 per capita; and Georgia, assessed at 49 per cent., has \$226 per capita. So if assessed on the same basis the people of Georgia pay three times as much on the \$100 as the people of New York on all the property in the state. As they own a less per cent of the state's wealth than the people of New York do of their state's wealth, the disparity and injustice is increased. The only way these two factors can be used is to let one offset the other, as in some instances the influence of one would predominate and in some the other.

19. THE SERFS WILL TAKE THE KNOUT.

All classes save professional bandits and their fawning vassals deplore so great an injustice. It seems too great a wrong to meekly bear as long as we already have; and would be for our sturdy predecessors who laid the foundations of a Republic, or for any save a race of slaves; but it is really a much less burden of wrong than others we are now bearing with all the grace of serfs.

The plundered masses have however decided that additional burdens must not be imposed. To prevent this they will demand a change in our fundamental law to meet the changed conditions under which we live.

They will do more. They will demand that the machinery of these plundering schemes be stopped.

They will do more. They will demand of the robbers that the machinery be reversed for the purpose of gradually restoring a part of that which they have earned and lost, by being compelled at the command of boughten legislatures and pensioned courts to stand and deliver. This is the great question they now have under consideration in "Committee of the whole." It is not the masses in any one party simply that are considering this question. The masses of all parties are engaged in the discussion.

Every day brings new friends to the measure, as the heated debate unfolds the perfidy of its opponents. A convention is coming in the near future, at which this will be a leading subject. They prefer a constitutional convention, held under legal conditions as a deliberative body; but the burden of injustice has reached that point,—the shackles of their bondage have become so galling.

that the convention will be called if they are forced to meet at a drum call that sounds the "Long Roll."

20. KEEP COOL: FILE CLOSERS.

Five years ago during a debate in the U. S. Senate Mr. Stewart said on this question. "If there is no humanity in the possessors of accumulated capital, there is power in revolution." And in an address to the Kansas Bar Association on Jan. 26th, 1892. Judge Seymour D. Thompson (testifying to the propriety and relevancy of such statements and conclusions). said:

"The right of trial by jury has been set aside in vast reaches of country; the courts have gone into the business of the common carrier; the by-laws of the corporations have overtopped in the judicial estimation, the legislation of states which were once called sovereign; the constitutional ordinances, earned on the battle field and intended as charters of human liberty, have been turned into the shield of incorporated monopoly. The barons of corporate powers, outrivaling in wealth and splendor the merchant kings of Venice, have purchased of venal legislators seats in the Senate of the United States, and have found no difficulty in placing their allies on the judicial bench. Throughout all this the press, *the deus* of a free people has been directly or indirectly subsidized into silence "

21. PACKED COURTS AND A SUBSIDIZED PRESS.

The courts have not only been packed to sustain the usurpation of capital and corporations, and legislatures bribed to pass shielding and abetting laws, and the press subsidized into silence, but these same allies have conspired to uphold, defend, and applaud our unjust and pernicious adjustment of schemes and rates of taxation.

There is no excuse but that of a desire to be smeared with the same infatuation as possesses those who worship at the shrine of the Golden Calf and have discarded all sensible consideration of their duty to their fellow-

men or their country, that will prevent the wronged masses of the American people from resorting to the use of muscle to re-establish their rights and repossess their lost freedom and treasure, just so soon as they realize that the last chance to do this by the use of the ballot is gone.

22. PAUL REVERE'S RIDE.

No more pointed illustration of the absurdity and iniquity of our present systems of taxation can be found, than that illustrated above. Verily "to him that hath shall be given" in Republics when run by him who hath money but not mercy;—who hath cheek but not charity. How long think you, that the men who, on not a tenth of the injustice, burned the Gaspee in Narragansett bay in 1772, or made a teapot of Boston Harbor in 1773, or adopted the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence in 1775, would meekly and supinely bear so amazing an injustice? How long before a Paul Revere would start from *every* state capital to ride to *every* county seat and country hamlet to call Freemen(?) and Patriots from shop and field.

How long before a Paul Revere would be with

23. HIS MESSAGE THAT ECHOES FOREVER-MORE.

"Ready to ride and spread the alarm,
"Through every Middlesex village and farm,
"For the country folk to be up and arm."

* * * * *

"But mostly he watched with eager search,
"The belfry tower of the Old North Church,
"As it rose above the graves on the hill,
"Lonely and spectral and sombre and still;
"And lo! as he looks on the belfry's height;
"A glimmer and then a gleam of light.
"He springs to the saddle; the bridle he turns,
"But lingers and gazes till full on his sight,
"A second lamp in the belfry burns,
"A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
"A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,

"And beneath, from the pebbles in passing a spark
 "Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;
 "That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the
 light,
 "The fate of a nation was riding that night,
 "And the spark struck out by that steed in his flight,
 "Kindled the land into flame with its heat."

* * * * * * *

"So through the night rode Paul Revere;
 "And so through the night went his cry of alarm,
 "To every Middlesex village and farm—
 "A cry of defiance and not of fear.
 "A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
 "And a word that shall echo forevermore!
 "For borne on the night wind of the Past,
 "Through all our history to the last,
 "In the hours of darkness and peril and need,
 "The people will waken and listen to hear,
 "The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
 "And the midnight message of Paul Revere."

We in our history have reached an era of
 "darkness, and peril, and need;" an hour
 when the people must "waken and listen to
 hear the midnight message of Paul Revere."

24. THE STARTLING CALL TO THE SLAVES OF TO-DAY.

And what in this hour of peril and need,
 Can curb the rank follies of passion and greed,
 What from the light of that glorious fray,
 Is the message he sends to the slaves of to-day?
 And what in this night says his cry of alarm?
 What warning sends he to each village and farm?

Awaken ye toilers! Arouse from your dreams!
 Put your ballots together to stop the huge streams
 Of booty that flows to the coffers of wealth,
 From the pockets of labor, by channels of stealth;
 Unceasingly flows in flood or in drouth,
 To plunder the toilers of the North and the South.

That is the warning: the hour is here,
 When the startling message of Paul Revere,
 With its cry of defiance, its note in the night,
 Will call forth the patriot hosts for the fight,
 Will awaken the slave
 To fetter the knave,
 Now lord of a Nation he used to fear.

The need of the hour is a new Combine;
 A coming together of once hostile ranks,
 To call down the tyrant and twist the spine,

Of the greedy usurpers, the millionaire cranks.
A co-operation for saving the nation,
Of the bold Johnny Rebs with the brave Billy Yanks

Then up and at them grenadiers:
Let us merge once hostile ranks.
We can stop the taunts and jeers
Of the millionaire cranks.
We can join to hush the fears,
Of the millions now called tramps.
And unite to dry the tears
Of despairing wife and maiden;
We can bring a future laden,
Not with doubt but with fruition
As we throttle superstition.

Brigadiers of labor legions,
Not the Plute's submissive vassal—
Called from North and Southern regions,
Ever faithful friends of freedom;
That from Justice's honored castle
We may drive the hosts of treason,—
That from Justice's honored castle,—
We may hurl the wild pretender
And install our old defender;
Muster! then to spread the story,
Of our exiled Prince's glory;
Muster! now to sweep the plain!
And seat him on his throne again.

Then touch elbows for a nation,
That again will give salvation,
To the mass who've brought it glory:
That will strangle superstition,
And consign to long perdition,
The vicious measures of the classes;
And work out a quick fruition,
As wrong doers reach contrition,
For the toiling, burdened masses;
And recall the ancient story.

This is the message of Paul Revere,
His cry of defiance and not of fear.
'Tis his startling call from that famous affray,
To the tax plundered toilers,—the slaves of to-day

Hew to the Line—Then and Now.

1856—1896.

CHAPTER II.

Contents. 1. Then. 2. The New Slavery. 3. The Case Stated to the Court. 4. A Precedent Examined. 5. The Two Paths. 6. A Good Witness. 7. A Press Comment:—Now. 8. A Lost Battle. 9. Will we win the Next. 10. A Talk to the Jury. 11. Hewing to the Line. 12. A Steadfast Purpose. 13. A Warning Torpedo. 14. No "Triple Alliance" for Reformers. 15. The Grip of a Great Corporation. 16. Blind Watchmen to Retire. 17. Correcting the Records to "Hew to the Line." 18. Kansans to the Front.

1. THEN. 1856.

KANSAS was the preliminary battle field of the great struggle of a third of a century ago, that changed the peculiar social system of half the country, and wiped out the institution of slavery on which it was based. For years before that conflict, the policy of parties had been moulded and distorted to serve the purpose of the excited and aggressive leaders of the Southern people, until the then old parties become their pliant and submissive dupes.

2. THE NEW SLAVERY.

Another system of slavery has now succeeded the one then destroyed: a system covering the nation instead of a subdivision. This new form of bondage is industrial slavery—a system unknown to law—in which

the master has not even a property interest in the slave. The great leaders who support and defend this new system have been granted the power, the same as was given to the impetuous Southern leaders fifty years ago, to mould the intent and distort the policy of the two largest political parties of the present. The iron grip and the relentless purpose of the masters in this new system—our Barons of commerce and Lords of finance—find expression and consummation through their control of these party leaders, including a few Alopaths, a few Homeopaths, but mostly the quacks of statesmanship.

By artifice and strategy—by such cunning schemes and vicious methods as are unknown to those who retain the common virtues of civilized mankind, and which would add an indellible disgrace to the common outlaw who has not the means to corruptly enjoy the favors of courts or the support of legislatures—these two forces—the personation of inordinate greed and of craftily acquired power—the one as a reigning despot, the other as a salaried vassal—have so perverted and besotted these great political machines, that their whole effort and energy and strength is centered in the one diabolical purpose, to enlarge, as steadily and rapidly as the surrounding conditions, and the development through their subordinates in the direction of party affairs of the requisite subserviance in the ranks will permit, the power and jurisdiction of the master over the slave and his family: And at the same time to increase the restrictions on and curtail the movements and opportunities of the slave; gradually increasing the meagerness of his food and raiment and shelter, and multiplying the barriers against his escape.

3. THE CASE STATED TO THE COURT

Another struggle between the forces of the master and the hosts that protest against and suffer from this new system of slavery has commenced. The victims of industrial slavery are raising their heads to find free air. Again the camps of the contending forces are pitched on Kansas soil and the rumble of the first sharp encounter echoes over her hilltops, and the thrilling peans of victory sweep up her luxuriant valleys. Once more the eyes of the Nation are turned toward Kansas. The friends of the master gaze in dread or despair: The friends of the slave see "our flag is still there."

4. A PRECEDENT EXAMINED.

When the compromises of Democratic legislation opened this territory to the slave driver with his chattels, the Nation was trembling with excitement. The purpose of the North that Kansas soil should not be polluted by the blighting influences of slavery, was not diminished when they were outgeneraled, and driven before the uplifted mace of the courts and the threatening gavels of congress into the open arena. They at once made ready to prosecute their case before the courts of the gods. The South were no less active in efforts to hold the advantage they had gained. In this appeal from court and congress both sides became plaintiffs.

Under such circumstances it was inevitable that all classes of enthusiasts, and all shades of adventurers should be drawn to the forum of the prairies, and join the contending factions. Many came seeking homes; many inspired by a simple sense of duty; more by a thirst for adventure; others by an inveterate

hatred, either of those from the North who having fought long and earnestly to keep slavery in quarantine, were ready now to defy the authority of government as well as those marching to uphold the aggressive acts and virulent purpose of the pro-slavery side, or by a hatred of the latter for their bitter defense of the institution: And still others looking for a chance for booty, seeking a freedom to plunder; considering little the principles involved in the struggle, and caring less.

5. THE TWO PATHS.

To-day, looking back to the efforts of the struggling free state men and seeing the factions into which they were divided;—the lack of harmony in their councils and of co-operation in their movements; the lack of authority to cement them together, and the plenitude of personal jealousies and local interests to stir up discord and stimulate suspicion;—noting these adverse conditions, and that the right was reached in spite of them, we can see that destiny had offered the free state forces the choice of the roads to success; the long rugged dangerous, bloody, by scattering charges and marches of separate factions; the other shorter, and less dangerous; making their plans in harmonious councils and moving with united forces and a purpose that eliminates individual claims and local interests.

There was not that sinking of individual ambitions and blending of factional efforts that would have enabled them to "Hew to the Line" and close up their ranks. Discord and jealousies, scattered and independent forces and conflicting projects dragged the combatants over the long and rugged way.

6. A GOOD WITNESS.

Governor Robinson, in his "*Kansas Conflict*" thoroughly uncovers this phase of their difficulties and varying fortunes. On page 331 he says—speaking of one of the leaders:

"These are all of his exploits except stripping Lawrence of its arms and men to help him escape from 2800 Missourians in September. These particulars are given simply because, on account of the scribblings of hero worshipers, these men have been made to appear as the saviors of Kansas, when from the standpoint of the free state policy, Kansas would have been saved with much less suffering and bloodshed without than with them."

7. A PRESS COMMENT THEREON.

The "*Lawrence Gazette*" in a comment on the "*Kansas Conflict*" says:

"It was a battle against the greatest odds that was begun in Kansas in 1854." * * * * "Horace Greely said the chances were four to one that they would fail. At their gateway was a herd of ruffians, bold, insolent, unscrupulous; always ready to dash through and commit any kind of depredation. Within the portals was another host of the enemy, the pro-slavery settlers. And within their own household were dangerous elements—some too timid, some too aggressive, some thoughtful, not for the cause of freedom, but for their own personal and political ambition.

"Between misguided sympathizers, foolish friends, unsafe leaders and overpowering foes, is it not remarkable that the battle was won?"

But destiny had decreed that, while ambition and error, prejudice and discord might prolong the struggle, the Free State forces should win the fight, and win it on the opening of a greater contest that their struggles and sacrifices had made inevitable.

NOW.

In how far different a condition are the forces now rallying on Kansas soil to overturn the new system of slavery, from that which disturbed the camps and confused the councils of the early pioneers?

"Memories and emotions" will be a futile and useless armament in the hands of the so-called "Redeemers" for winning the next

election; nor will bluff and bluster give the assurance and bring together the forces necessary to carry it for us, any more than they did in 1894.

8.

A LOST BATTLE.

The election was lost then, not because of any change in the convictions or accepted principles of voters, but because of disobedience of orders and broken promises and violated instructions on the part of party officials; because of a failure to "Hew to the Line" as demanded by the ranks and promised by their leaders. Diminished confidence in those who have controlled party policy was the result; and a diminished confidence produced a diminished vote. Until this diminished confidence is restored, and the influences that produced it nullified, in every move they make the Populists start with the chances against them. There are too many men whose support they need and have relied on,—whom bluster will not disturb nor bluff convince, who are too dissatisfied with the methods and practices, as well as the purpose of the old parties they have abandoned *to seek something better*, to be pacified with the assurance that their new home and surroundings *are no worse*.

9.

WILL WE WIN THE NEXT.

The purpose of the Reformers must be not only to advocate such a complete revolution in the whole policy of government as is necessary to re-establish a government of the people, and to faithfully execute this purpose whenever public confidence in their integrity and approval of their plans gives them the opportunity; but the practice in party manipulation, the tactics in the school

of the party, must be an improvement on the spectacular evolutions, the boomerang twirlings and the mortiferous clang of the old party machines.

How shall the confidence, not of the bunners and foragers in the rear, but of the steady and conservative and reliable advance guard of Reformers be restored? By abandoning the methods and practices that have destroyed it By showing a purpose to deserve it. *By Hewing to the Line.*

10. A TALK TO THE JURY.

The arena of politics is not a battle field where cheating is justifiable and deception an honor. It is where conflicting policies of government should meet in open rivalry to be honestly explained and fairly presented to an interested and intelligent jury, for inspection and dissection, to establish the best. While, under the leadership of men who practice what they preach and have lost no campaign or position by the activity of their moral natures, it has degenerated to a scramble for office and a greedy struggle for the spoils, this degenerated condition is not satisfactory to the mass of voters in any party. In the two great old parties, the majority of voters acquiesce in what they really dislike and condemn, because this class in each, thinks the defeat of *their* party would be a worse evil than all the deception, wire pulling, chicanery and intrigue practiced to prevent it; and so they vote for a bad man, big Indian or good devil without regret. That is their primary theory which ultimately becomes an idolatry: luring them to first bow, then kneel, then wallow to serve this dirty and seductive god of partyism.

Politics is a wallow; and partyism is a national curse that has made some of the worst blotches on our history. It cultivates deception, condones iniquity, and encourages the most degenerate forms of ignorance and the lowest shades of prejudice.

All crimes are committed; all iniquities defended; all honor cast aside; all laws defied; the reasonable impulses of humanity seared, and everything infamous and dishonorable upheld; everything mean and despicable, everything low and cowardly and sneaking applauded, and everything honorable and fair and true defamed in behalf of party. *If there is anything that is the complete antithesis of statesmanship it is partyism, a scolding of partyism propagated in the gutter.* The older and stronger a party gets, the more audacious and corrupt it becomes, until the rights and duties of the individual and the welfare of the Nation are lost sight of in the grand rush for the boodle at the goal. It would be a blessing to the nation if the life of a party were limited by charter, to a score of years or less. Then men would inevitably learn how much evil and injustice they had been voting to defend; and how little of patriotism and how much of selfish ambition was the mainspring of every party plan.

11. HEWING TO THE LINE.

The People's party as a whole abhor the methods and juggling of the old party machines. They denounce and ridicule the celebrated theory of our able ex-Senator whose experience seems to have established as an axiom of his political philosophy, that intrigue and corruption are essential to political success. The promise of the Reformers is to discard intrigue and the noxious

methods of old party rings; and they generally demand that the reprehensible practices of these old parties be not grafted on the new. Had this demand been obeyed, the party would not have been groping its way in disorder to-day.

However gratifying success may be they do not believe in the Ingall's doctrine of reaching it by showing how little they deserve it. Those who have accepted responsibility and position from the People's party to a great extent manipulate its policy and control its every move. To be able to call to their aid the forces necessary to enable them to repeal vicious laws, and supplant with representatives of intelligent labor the money changers and speculators who control the councils of the nation, they should not only be above reproach but above suspicion. It is not enough to say or to be able to prove that the new party is not as corrupt as the old. The old parties make no serious pretense of frowning on corruption. They glory in the opportunities it gives them, and follow the victories they win thereby with their favorite species of triumph. They eat, drink and get merry over what they have done.

People expect something better of Reformers. They expect them to "Hew to the Line" as they promise. If they have had opportunities to do this that they have discarded, and chances to prove their fidelity that they have spurned, they must look to these short comings for the loss of enthusiasm and confidence and for recent disappointments and present disorder.

That such opportunities have come within their reach and that they have not been accepted are facts too well known to be denied.

The important questions now are, first: Is the party bearing the blame for these derelictions and bearing it justly, and hence liable to the penalties for important public duties ignored? or, second: Does the responsibility attach to individuals whom the party has honored, for a failure to do their part? My belief is that the party is being criticised, censured and condemned for things the whole responsibility for which belongs to, and all blame for which should rest on, its appointed servants and chosen representatives. No party can be justly condemned, or even honestly censured, for either the bad judgment or the deliberate fault of its servants which it has had no opportunity to condemn, and of which the rank and file know too little to form an intelligent opinion.

12.

A STEADFAST PURPOSE.

The purpose of the People's party remains as steadfast as it was before the election of 1892 to avoid all entangling alliances, and the devious ways, the wire pulling tricks and bulldozing practices of the old parties; but they cannot shun what they but dimly see, nor intelligibly analyze and label rumors or insinuations, to give a proper influence in the formation of opinion and passing judgment, to the stories on which they are based. More light is the need of the hour. More light that they may see to hew to the line.

Those who have accepted responsibility and position from the People's party will not do their part toward the re-establishment of that confidence which is essential to success in the coming campaign, if they fail to uncover such specific and successful efforts to follow the ward heelers tactics and resorts to the reprehensible practices of the old parties

as have been met in their personal experience, and had an important influence in promoting the disorder in our ranks, that the party may show their abhorrence and condemnation of these exhibitions of cake walks after false gods, and assist in the restoration of confidence both in the righteous purpose and the good judgment of those whom they may call to direct its policy and execute its decrees.

13

A WARNING TORPEDO.

Anything that will help to keep the Populist craft from drifting into the breakers, anything that will help us to shake off our stupor, to revive enthusiasm and restore confidence should be willingly contributed. Unless we have the courage, the judgment and the statesmanship required for this emergency, we cannot claim to have the qualifications necessary to turn the prow of our Ship of State from the breakers, or expect the recruits necessary to give us the opportunity to show our skill and to make the details for the quarter deck. Let us not hesitate then to lay a warning torpedo in the track of the Populist. If at the same time we can show that while our side has in some instances failed to keep its pledges; if we can show that while our trusted and faithless servants have occasionally "followed the devices and desires" that only become the disciples of political iniquity; and that, even in dealing with the great corporations who expect and intend to derive the greater benefit from the public revenues while evading as far as possible the taxes that produce them, they have forgotten their pledges, forgotten the interest of the state and the claims of justice,—our opponents have shown their vassalage to these petted and domineering

creatures of the law, not only by sustaining and endorsing the most serious Populist faults and errors in unauthorized concessions to at least one of the great corporations, but by adding still more to this wrong, and enlarging the favoritism by a further release from their public burdens to increase the load on other interest. we will demonstrate to our crafty adversories the greater opportunity that they have of calling *their* faithless servants to account for *their more brazen subservience to the outrageous claims of the Santa Fe company.*

14 NO TRIPLE ALLIANCE FOR REFORMERS.

Whenever this overpowering and seemingly fascinating corporation can, with the Republican party and the Populist party, form a "triple alliance" for the purpose of defrauding all other interests save those of this company, and for suppressing the evidence of questionable concessions to it, the evidence without doubt will remain *intra parietes*, or in the shade. But it takes three parties to form a triple alliance; and it requires the presence and sanction of authorized agents in so important a matter as that referred to, to bind the principals.

The weak part in the chain of diplomacy is the fact that the *Populists are not a party to the coalition.* What ever their officials or servants may have promised, or done, or failed to do, was not only without authority, but in disobedience of orders, and the *Populist party rejects the bribe.* Though through Populist folly a great wrong has been done, it was the folly of individuals whose sinuous course and old party tactics the party itself has had no opportunity to either approve, whitewash, or condemn. The party should not and really

cannot be held responsible for the duplicity of its servants unless it endorses or hides their dubious tricks.

The release from reasonable and proper public burdens of the Santa Fe company was not granted by a Populist board, but was done after the board had completed their work and adjourned sine die, and turned over the minutes of their proceedings to their secretary to be figured and footed, and the necessary returns sent to the counties and companies.

15. THE GRIP OF A GREAT CORPORATION.

Not so with the Republicans. What they have done in endorsing the changes made in the Populist board's figures they have done as an official board; and the greater favors shown the Santa Fe company, than they received by the changes made in the Populist board's figures after they had adjourned, were granted by the present board in their official capacity, and with the facts before them.

Either through carelessness or a lack of judgment, the Populist Senate permitted the opportunity to say whether or not they ratified the coalition between Populist officials, the Republican party and the Santa Fe company to pass by. They rejected the opportunity to make a record for the information of the public; of the work of this heterogeneous cabal. While in this failure, they made a serious mistake, this does not make the party responsible for the infamous favors shown by its appointees to the Santa Fe Co., or for their successful efforts in suppressing the evidence of their doings. It was this carelessness or lack of judgment which seemed to sanction the doctored assessors report of 1894 that gave the new administration the oppor-

tunity of granting greater favors to the Santa Fe company than they obtained by the surreptitious work on that report after the board had adjourned. Had it not been for the belief that the unauthorized concessions granted this company by Populist officials, and the refusal of the Senate to turn on the light, indicated a strong enough power among Populist wire pullers to force an endorsement of this triple alliance, does any one believe the Republican party would have dared to not only uphold and approve this enormous and unauthorized favoritism, but to show their infatuation and servility by still greater concessions to this then bankrupt corporation that as yet makes no pretense of owning any state government but that of Kansas?

16

BLIND WATCHMEN TO RETIRE.

Kansas has been making history in the past four years as rapidly as did the pioneers of forty years ago. The Populist party have contributed their share in this, without doing all they should have done with the opportunities they have had. For what they have accomplished under trying circumstances and in spite of the multitudinous obstacles with which a snarling, unscrupulous and baffled opposition has attempted to surround or entrap them, they are entitled to the lasting gratitude of the whole people. It would be strange if a force so suddenly recruited—so largely made up of comparative strangers—should under the most favorable circumstances, accomplish as much as they hoped to, or that they would move forward with the quiet assurance of disciplined veterans. It was inevitable that they should miscalculate and misjudge; that they should straggle

and grumble even on trivial occasions, that they should make mistakes. It is no less certain that as a party, they are ready to retrace their steps, and to call down faithless guides, incompetent, leaders short sighted lookouts and color-blind watchmen whenever their errors are revealed or their defects exposed. Nor is it less sure that a rugged road and a brief and stormy experience have qualified and fitted them to grapple with the serious questions that confront the people of the state and the nation.

17. CORRECTING THE RECORDS TO
"HEW TO THE LINE."

Two or three events during my connection with the state government, in which I was personally interested, require for the good of the party and the cause of justice to be better understood. Some who have scored for me to hew have been displeased and disappointed that my blade failed to follow the wind and wobble of their scoring and they have used the opportunities given them by their positions as servants of the party to encourage and support false impressions and erroneous conclusions. These are matters in which not only the Populist party but the whole people of the state are interested. The part I have taken with reference to these transactions and events having been misunderstood, my purpose at times misrepresented, and my reasonable requests as a state officer denied, I should culpably ignore the instructions I have received *to assist the Populists to hew to the line*, if I did not help them to reach conclusions on these matters not wholly based on the sly insinuations or garbled allegations of those interested in keeping the facts in the back ground, or on the *ex parte* statements of Populist fixers or railroad lobbyists.

In doing my part in turning on the light to enable the Populist party to see the breakers ahead, and the wake--the foot prints and earmarks of the wire pullers and fixers behind, I shall confine myself to matters that have been part of my personal experience; matters which interest not the party alone, but the whole people and which I learn are neither fairly stated by some of my self appointed critics, nor generally understood by my friends. Misunderstanding and a lack of information concerning these matters have been a detriment to the party, and in doing my part to aid in correcting them I can do no less than make the evidence in reference to these matters sufficiently plain to remove this mischevious misunderstanding.

"I must be cruel only to be kind."

Hamlet, Act III, Scene IV.

Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace
To silence envious tongues. Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's and truths."

Henry VIII, Act III, Scene II.

18.

KANSANS TO THE FRONT.

Men of Kansas! We must throw off our stupor and cast aside the chalice of our idolatry. We must throw ourselves "Once more into the breach," to stop the march of the present co-operating twin relics of barbarism and rescue the Republic. The opportunity is again ours. We have the cries of the downtrodden and oppressed wafted on every breeze from North, South, East and West to aid us in throwing off our apathy, and to incite us to emulate the noble and historic deeds of our predecessors; to incite us to cast to the winds the chalice of our superstition and rend the vestments of our idolatry. A thousand times more than forty years ago when

“Freedom from her mountain height
Unfurled her standard to the air,”—

A thousand times more than when

“She placed in Kansas’ outstretched hand
The symbol of her chosen land,”

have we the opportunity to break the spell of the Golden calf, to light the funeral pyre of Plutocracy’s bastille, and set up again the Ark of the Covenant in its ashes? Then it was but a handful of hardy and adventurous spirits who gathered here to defy the mighty slave power of the South backed by the Federal government.

They had the sympathy of but a bare majority at the North when they turned their cabins into castles to face the onslaught from the South. In the marshaling of the forces for the coming struggle we have the full but undirected sympathy of a majority at the North that will ultimately become our allies, and we also have the chance to call to our aid the valiant and oppressed men of the South. It is for us to say, by acts rather than words, whether we have the brawn and the patriotism to improve it.

The Sunflower Tangle and Its Critics.

CHAPTER III.

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1.

A SURPRISE.

THE appearance of "*The Sunflower Tangle*" on the eve of the meeting of our State Convention two years ago, created universal surprise throughout the State. While there was a strong desire among a few of the "fixers" of the party to find some excuse for booming a new candidate for Lieutenant Governor, on account of my failure to participate in their projects and second all their motions, their expressions of dissatisfaction had been confined to an occasional subdued growl, and it was conceded, as there was no plausible excuse for a change, I would be re-nominated with the major part of the ticket.

The appearance however of my printed address to the delegates just before the meeting gave my opponents a position on which to mass their batteries.

2. POLITICAL CHAPERONES AND THE INDEPENDENT (?) PRESS.

My experience at that time shows the danger of incurring the displeasure of the party fixers. Had I fully realized this before the address was issued, the "*Sunflower Tangle*" would have been written and sent to the delegates just the same; but I should have had it out in time for them to have learned what it said without the aid of a chaperone, that its object might not have been misunderstood, nor my purpose successfully misrepresented.

It came out but a few days before the convention met and was received by but few before they left their homes.

The independent press—independent of any veneration for the truth as such—with their usual willingness to promote discord in Populist ranks, gave a sufficient twist to its statements to boom the schemes of the wire workers whose 'claim that the lieutenant governor was trying to dictate the platform, enable them to carry their point. I was censured, not only by those who became open enemies for what they called an arbitrary purpose, but by my friends for giving the former a foothold. Friends have wondered and asked, they have imagined, surmised, queried and guessed to learn my motive. They have assigned various reasons, but none have divined the full motive and purpose of "*The Sunflower Tangle*."

3. PERSONAL INTEREST IGNORED.

As I had never sought political honors or lobbied at conventions in hopes of a reward, the address was not classed as designed for a

personal benefit. So far, critics were right. My own interest or desires were not considered. "*The Sunflower Tangle*" dealt with great national questions, without the slightest consideration of individual ambition, interests or preferences. The expectation was that the importance of the main proposition it contained,—that for the recognition of the principle of Graduated Property Taxation in the platform—if concurred in by the convention, would be developed by the discussion that would inevitably have followed its adoption. Had the measure been endorsed, and its working when enacted become understood by campaign discussions, the Populist nominees would have swept the state. How small then appears the efforts of the cabal whose members or agents meandered between the hotels and the depots to interview delegates and cram them with pointers about one man's efforts to dictate a platform.

4. A REASONABLE EXPECTATION.

Certainly there were substantial grounds for the belief that the measure would receive thoughtful examination from the convention. It had many friends and supporters among the delegates, and in addition to this fact, it had received the endorsement of representative bodies enough in the state to have insured under ordinary circumstances, not only its consideration but its recognition as a party measure. The suggestions in the "*Sunflower Tangle*" were also made in compliance with an invitation in the Omaha platform, extended to all Populists to aid in the formulation of amendments to that document, which, conceding it was not complete, promised that the forces there organized "would never cease to move forward until every wrong is

righted." This latter fact should have been sufficient to annul the charge of presumption used by my critics had their first consideration been that of party welfare for the public good, without the endorsements the measure had received.

5 SOME STRONG ENDORSEMENTS.

But in addition to this invitation in the platform, the measure at that time had received the approval of

The Kansas Alliance in 1889,

The Crawford County Peoples Party convention of 1891.

My nomination for lieutenant governor in 1892 was a result of my advocacy and defense of this measure.

The Kansas Senate, after an all-day debate on Feb. 10th, 1893, passed a concurrent resolution (No. 15) as follows (Preamble omitted):

Resolved by the Senate of the State of Kansas, the House of representatives concurring therein, that our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives be requested to use their influence and votes for the purpose of procuring the passage of the said bill, House—No. 6595.

Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and these resolutions be sent to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House, to each of the Kansas delegation in Congress and to the presiding officer of every State Senate in the Nation."

The resolution was adopted without division after its opponents had exhausted parliamentary tactics to defeat a vote. On a roll call on the resolution without the preamble, the vote would have stood: For it 27, Against 13. *It went to the Dunsmore House Feb. 13th, was referred to the committee on Federal Relations, reported back Feb. 17th and concurred in without opposition Feb. 21st. The friends of the measure comprised a

*See Senate Journal pages 253, 297, 312, 13, 14, 15: And Dunsmore House Journal pp. 263, 298, 310.

majority of the Kansas Legislature after the Supreme Court decision had brought the two hostile wings together and the Republicans had completed their program of unseating Populist members.

6. FEATURES OF THE BILL.

H. R. 6595 was the Graduated Property Tax Bill which I drew up in February, 1892, and Representative Clover introduced on the 27th of that month. The same bill was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Pepper, being bill No. 2615 of the Senate Series. It provides:

First. For a tax of from one to eighteen per cent. per annum, on the property in excess of \$1,000,000 owned by any one person.

Second. That the funds raised by it should be apportioned among the states; one-third in proportion to their wealth; one-third in proportion to their population; and one-third in proportion to their area.

Third. That the money should be expended (after paying from it the cost of assessment and collection) for three specific purposes, as follows:

First: For paying the pensions and other war charges.

Second: For employing all idle labor on extensive public improvements in every organized county of the country, in building and improving roads, canals, reservoirs and parks.

Third: For paying all the expenses of the state military establishments.

The bill was again sent to Congress in the summer of 1893 and my petition for its passage was approved, and endorsed by the executive officers of the state from the Governor down.

As the request for the consideration of the measure was made in compliance with an invitation extended by our National platform; and with so generous a backing as the propo-

sition had received, would it have been reasonable to expect that its deliberate consideration could have been defeated by the most energetic efforts of a small but mighty band of wire pullers on the flimsy pretext that I was trying to dictate the platform? I think not.

Under the circumstances it was reasonable to expect that my position would be neither misrepresented or misunderstood. In compliance with the invitation of our national platform I asked our convention to accept the Graduated Property Tax—a measure which had received the endorsement of their Legislature and State Officers—as a substitute for the Sub-treasury Bill. I felt satisfied that the deliberate judgment of the party's representatives was in favor of the measure, though they might not be convinced of the propriety of its adoption at that time; and so the expectation that my appeal would be considered without listening to the chatter of the "statesmen four", was neither presumptuous nor unreasonable.

7. THE SUFFRAGISTS WIN—AND LOSE.

There were some mitigating circumstances in connection with the action of the committee on resolutions. They permitted the women suffragists to monopolize almost the entire time given to the consideration of platform, including all the day (after their appointment) and much of the night; becoming so exhilarated and then dazed and finally worn out by the logic, facts and millinery, that when they awoke from their dreams in which they seemed to have been "Fighting like fiends for conciliation" they voted to report against the weight of the evidence and flutter of ribbons; then the convention reversed them, and later the people sustained the committee.

Another unfortunate circumstance was that I was in such poor health at that time as to be unable to be out in the evening; and when the committee had heard the long story of the suffragists through, they were so nearly fagged out and I was not present to defend the graduated tax proposition that they rejected it after a little superficial comment and casual consideration. The convention reversed the committee on what the committee evidently considered the more important measure, but on the same crafty argument that prejudiced and prevailed with the committee, they accepted the latter's conclusions on the tax question. Defeat followed. Why, has already been considered.

8.

A LUCKY MISTAKE(?)

Had this measure been included in the platform, its discussion would have drawn attention somewhat from the errors of our administration, and brought to their aid friends of the measure, some of whom did not vote, and some voted other tickets. Six weeks after the convention and but three weeks before he died, ex-Governor Robinson, who believed that success under then existing conditions was absolutely impossible, wrote me as follows:

"If the book (meaning the *Sunflower Tangle* and other arguments in support of the measure it defended) could be endorsed by the Populist party as a campaign document and distributed by the committee and candidates, success would be assured."

The view of Governor Lewelling expressed in a letter to me dated Nov. 13th, 1894, in which he said, "I am inclined to think all is for the best. Our party will now be stripped of a number of spoils hunters," seems more and more the right one. We can safely say the errors of that campaign were our good

fortune; as without the defeat, the faults of our administration could not have been east in the shade by the follies, scandals, and dilly-dallying of our successors; and the venom of our disappointed adversaries would all the time have been spreading its poison, while the disintegrating influences of the spoils hunters among the Populists might have gone on till they reached among us, the pinnacle they now occupy in the Republican camp, and made success impossible this year. In Kansas we now have an opportunity that probably would not have been within our reach but for that defeat;—an opportunity to call out the former stay-at-home vote, absorb the Democratic kickers, and make a flying switch for the Republican land slide that will send the old party machine cavorting among a yard full of “empties.”

9. THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK.

In the Nation the situation is changing so rapidly that with a judicious use of our opportunities, success there also now looks possible. It was with National questions that the *“Sunflower Tangle”* dealt, and National success in 1896 was the object for which it was written; but at that time we all felt that success in Kansas in '94 would contribute to National victory in '96. Now the wisdom of that belief is not so apparent. But whatever influence that might have had, is immaterial now.

The campaign of '96 is upon us. The questions and conditions of '96 are here for us to grapple with, and to solve. The measures advocated and defended in the *Tangle* are more pertinent now than in '94, and the necessity for such legislation is more readily discerned. In these two years the millionaire

anarchists have tightened the screws on the slaves. They have put in operation new schemes of plunder. They have taken a new interest in sowing the seeds of our national paganism, that they may be adored as its prophets.

10.

BUILD A CALF.

The great central principle of this creed teaches men that the one great duty of life is to build a Golden Calf. No matter how, just build it. There is nothing else to strive for on earth. Build a god and get into it. Then you can enjoy the worship of fools and the envy of the world. The more that are robbed for supplying the treasure, the greater will be your satisfaction. Build a palace. The more bones worked into the foundation, and tears in the mortar,—the more of labors homes made bare or destroyed in the effort, the greater your success. The more you can plunder in doing it the greater the glory. The more laborers that are thereby forced to dress in rags and live in squalor, the better. Spread inside a perpetual feast and fill the nights with revelry. The more empty plates and begging ones outside, the more you can enjoy the Calf. This is the great theory we are applauding the piratical schemers of the present time for following; the great lesson we have set for the rising generation to learn.

11.

SIDE ISSUES OF '96.

This species of paganism is the basis for the worst form of imperialism. Republicanism does not and cannot share honors with it. The antipathy between them is vital and endless. One or the other must go down. The question of '96 is, which. The free silver skirmish is only an incident(?) The tariff fake is now but an incident. The per capita circu-

lation has become but a feeble incident. When those who have, by opportunity, treachery, and favors gotten the property of the nation want free silver or no silver, high tariff or low, more money or less, these changes will be made in a night.

The case is human rights versus money rights. Man versus dollars. The true God versus the Golden Calf. And men who are lured by the fallacious twitter of the cunning and corrupt servants of Plutocracy to ignore the great main question for the purpose of defending one side or the other of either of these incidental questions, had as well exhaust their logic and expend their oratory to decide, as they gather around the Calf they worship, which their Aaron "fashioned with a graving tool after he had made it a Golden Calf" (Exodus XXXII, IV) whether the post of honor is the head or the tail.

However important these questions of tariff and silver and circulation may have been in the past they have all become side issues. They have dwindled to insignificance now the wrongs that have been perpetrated by a barbaric use of the opportunities their discussion and manipulation has given the "confidence" gang, are realized; and the question of human rights versus money rights is the one great question now before the jury of 12,000,000 men.

12. THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE PRESENT.

The "*Sunflower Tangle*," while addressed to the state convention, had no reference in its purpose to state politics. The measure it specifically advocated was drafted for the double purpose of again making the industrial classes prosperous, independent and content-

ed; and for outlining a plan which the plundered masses, North and South, would be mutually interested in pushing to success. A plan

Of co-operation for saving the Nation,
Of the bold Johnny Rebs and the brave Billy Yanks.

It was intended as an effort first, to re-establish the rule of justice by overturning the Golden Calf, destroying monopoly, and restoring to the victims of its greed and lust its concentrated forces; and second, to insure the mustering of a force of patriots sufficient to carry out the first purpose.

The first purpose was apparent to the casual reader; but the second, though the general features of the project had been published hundreds of times, discussed and debated occasionally for years by reformers, and criticised, berated and lampooned by its opponents, the important points in the details of the project, by which

The Brigadier's of labors legions
Called from North and Southern regions,
Could call down the tyrant and twist the spine
Of the greedy usurpers, the millionaire cranks,
had not been discovered or disclosed.

13. WHY THE ADDRESS TO THE CONVENTION OF '94.

In asking the convention to sustain the action of the Populist legislature and state officers, my wish was that there might be ample time for these features of the measure to be discussed and understood, and its far reaching effects be realized before the campaign of this year began. But the mastodons of political intrigue and pigmies of statesmanship, in prancing through the corridors and meandering to the stations were able to

burn brimstone enough about the *Sunflower Tangle* so that its contents could not be discerned or its meaning realized on account of the smoke and the fumes.

14. MY PURPOSE IN UNTANGLING THE TANGLE.

It is due to these wary and successful opponents of my request contained therein, to the convention of two years ago, that they knew how much of a detriment, even when judged by the supple touch-stone of expediency, their action was to the cause they support. It is due to the disconcerted friends in Kansas of graduated taxation, to know how little consideration for the public good flavored the inuendoes or spiced the councils of those who then appeared as enemies of this project. And it is due to the people of the state to realize and understand how little of public welfare or the interest of the community,—how little of the true spirit of statesmanship imparts any flavor to political intrigues; to know how much of its crust is petty jealousies; how much of its filling is loaves and fishes, and how much of its spice is selfish and pernicious ambitions.

The cultivation of these abnormal and mischievous characteristics, is one of the leading arts in our political life. The ability of men who depend on their use to attract attention, and command the support of others who detest deception and intrigue, is one of the unfortunate and mysterious circumstances of American politics. Those who look at the back of the mask the mandarins of this order of Mamalukes wear as they meander and prance and plead to auction off their favors, see it is but a filmy texture of deceit. Cultivating these traits so industriously year after

year, has finally made the greatest emulation between political parties, the emulation of fraud. The dangers that beset us now, not only invite and entreat us, but they *command* us to so modify our methods and harmonize our purposes with the grand designs on the first trestle board of the Republic, that the jealousies and acrimony of the partisan may be covered by the toga of the statesman.

My purpose in untangling *The Sunflower Tangle* will be to show friends and enemies what it meant, and what opportunities the project it advocates offers to the victims of our new system of slavery, to escape from an odious bondage, and repossess their lost heritage by utilizing an underground railroad, the plans and profiles of which are on record therein: an underground railroad with a certainty of operation and capacity of service equal to the work of carrying the last one of the slaves of to-day, from the bondsman's bare hut back to the freeman's home.

In doing this, it is with a hope that the knowledge of what it did mean, will so nearly compensate the wire pullers that were able to defeat its earnest and thoughtful consideration, aside from the question of offices and plums, that they as victors will ask no indemnity; but accept instead, the opportunity it gives them for extending the field of their labors in the political arena, beyond the narrow confines of political intrigue to balance the account.

15. THE PLEDGE TO MOVE FORWARD.

The Omaha platform pledges the party to continue to move forward till every wrong is righted. Plundering the masses to enrich the classes is the greatest wrong existing in America in 1896. This is one of the wrongs

the Populist party is pledged to correct, but the Omaha convention failed to find any one project, or any assortment of projects that would do this, on which a majority could agree.

16. KANSAS TAKES THE INITIATIVE.

As Kansas has headed the Populist column, it is but natural that we should take the initiative in agreeing on some project that would supply this deficiency. The bill which was petitioned for by the Populist state officers and endorsed by a Populist Legislature in Senate Concurrent resolution No. 15 three years ago, *is such a measure*. It received the sanction of the Populist Senate after an all-day debate because it was such a measure: And it received the endorsement without developing the strongest features in the bill for disarming Plutocracy. Before proceeding with a consideration of these special points, let us pause to summarize the conditions that require the immediate application of radical remedies.

17. STRIKING CONDITIONS SUMMARIZED.

A rough estimate of the nation's wealth is \$65,000,000,000.

Fifty per cent. of this property is owned by less than 23,000 persons, or one one-thirtieth of one per cent. of the people.

Thirty per cent. more of it is owned by about 122,000 persons, and fifteen per cent. more by about 155,000 persons.

So ninety-five per cent. of our accumulated wealth is held by 300,000 persons.

Most of these accumulations are the result of corrupt processes, unholy methods and unjust legislation.

Most of this wealth has been produced by the ninety-nine per cent. of the families of the nation who still retain 5 per cent. of its wealth.

All the destitution, present hard times, lack of work, and discontent; and most of the crimes committed and the cost of finding and punishing violators of criminal laws, are a result of these unjust conditions and of the opportunities they offer, and the power they give for their extension.

18. BUT ONE PEACEABLE CORRECTIVE
POSSIBLE.

The only possible way to either stop their growth or to undo the wrongs we have permitted to grow till they have enslaved the masses and threaten, as they ought, the life of the Republic, is to destroy the power of the men who own the accumulated forces of money for continuing their work; their power to hold the battle-ax of starvation over the heads of labor.

We cannot by peaceable methods destroy their power to do this without increasing the ability of labor to resist it.

We cannot decrease the offensive armament of the capitalist, without increasing the defensive position of the laborer.

We cannot make restitution to labor for the wrongs of the past without a re-adjustment of economic condition and opportunities, that will restore to the laborer, a part, at least, of that which he has earned and lost because the government of a republic,—*of this Republic*—has for a third of a century constantly aided his oppressors.

Taxation is the only peaceable process by which a re-adjustment of economic conditions can be reached, or by which the power of capital to continue its barbarities can be destroyed.

Taxation is the only avenue through which the plunder now in the pockets of the multi-millionaires can be collected for restoration to its rightful owners.

19. AMERICANS NOT MADE FOR THE
CONSTITUTION.

If a constitutional prohibition of such a process has been recently discovered or invented, we must admit, that, as the constitution was drawn to administer justice and not to enforce injustice, our duty requires its amendment. "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The Constitution was made for Americans, and not Americans for the Constitution. It is not strange that men 110 years ago were not able to quite make it fit our present conditions; but they told us how to proceed to supply its deficiencies—as we have done several times already—or to make a new one.

20. GOD'S LAW STILL IN FORCE.

The most, if not the only, available methods of restoring this plunder to the masses, are: First, through its expenditure in the employment of all idle labor, at good wages on public works, and in the purchase of supplies, material, and sites therefor. Second, by decreasing the burden of present taxation.

This will not only start a process of compensation to all present idle laborers, but at the same time it will begin making restitution to all other labor by increasing wages; by stopping taxes for the support of the idle, and by decreasing the cost of the criminal classes; besides a decrease of taxation for the regular appropriations of the National government.

The interests profiting by the reign of injustice claim that they have repealed God's law "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," which carries with it the right—the inalienable and inherent right—to an opportunity to do this, and the right to live.

This claim is a fraud and a lie. Their vicious use of boughten power has enabled them to close the book in which it is written, and render it inoperative; but the book will be reopened and this righteous decree again proclaimed from every house top, and the thunder of this message will shake the foundations of the palaces of those who protest and turn for consolation and aid to the frail god they have fashioned "with a graving tool."

21. MATHEMATICS AND CYCLONES.

The existence of these evidences of injustice, oppression and wrong, does not simply excuse a resort to positive and radical measures for correcting them. The knowledge of these facts comes with the force of a command to all honest people; and it is only the dishonest or the timid that will protest against again making dollars the servant of the people, instead of the people a servant of dollars.

Most writers on these questions discern the cause of the wrong and draw vivid pictures of the situation. Some of them depict truthfully the inevitable result of the continued growth of the evil tendencies and pernicious conditions against which they protest. They lament it as men naturally do to find they are in the path of an approaching cyclone. When such a discovery is made they will not stop long to discuss how the cyclone was formed. Their interest and efforts will be directed to stopping it, or getting out of the way.

Now the danger threatening our social system is seen, our efforts should be directed to remedies and means of escape.

The question is asked by those who rejoice in present conditions because they profit by

them. "What are you going to do about it"? The tired tramps,—the plundered producers,—the toiling industrialists, the weary workers say, "What *can* we do about it"?

Do something. No matter if it is not the best. A coming cyclone won't wait for long mathematical calculations. A lighted fuse is not concerned about the distance to the powder chamber. Do something; then if that is not the best, do something else. Don't wait for the fuse to burn out while trying to figure out the best. You had better do something that is not the best than to do nothing. Then do something for your sake, for your children's sake, for justice and your country.

22. AMUSING THE THIEVES. STOP IT!

Taxation is our certain and available weapon of defense. We certainly have a right to tax luxuries. All nations have, and we have enforced it when we chose. The precedents of a century show we hold this power. The voice of common sense commands us to use it. The voice of God approves the dictates of common sense. We are amusing the thieves by pelting them with clods. *Stop it. Use the stones of taxation to call them down.* Then you can discuss and dally over better ways.

The taxation of income is child's play. Inordinate wealth is a luxury. *Tax inordinate wealth*—the property itself—not the profit the plunderers can make by using it.

If one million dollars is not inordinate wealth, two million is. If one million dollars is not a luxury, two millions are. Tax the second million.

If one million is not a luxury, fifty are. Tax the forty-nine that you *know* make the fortune a luxury. If we err, let us err with too much generosity, but at the same time let

us say to the haughty Plutocrats: "We will not see the masses deprived of the ordinary comforts of life, and much less of its necessities, for the sole purpose of having a few peacocks—of seeing you revel in luxury."

Legislatures, Congress and the Courts are given their power by our votes. They are owned and operated by the Plutocrats. *Turn the rascals out.* Destroy the power of their masters to own them, by using the engine of taxation, and by imposing it in proportion to the ability to bear it; by graduated taxation as recommended by the greatest statesman of our early history. Of our right to do this, Senator Sherman said during a debate over one of his compromising intrigues to protect the trusts:

"Congress also has power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imports and excises. It may exercise its own discretion in acting upon this power. All parties, from the foundation of the government, have held that Congress may discriminate in selecting the objects and rates of taxation."

The right to tax what we please and at the rate we please has been so universally admitted, that even Mr. Sherman makes no effort to dispute it. And ex-Senator Ingalls adds his testimony as follows:

"When the supreme court decided that taxation need not be for raising revenue, and that the power to tax was, under the constitution, the power to destroy, they placed in the hands of Lazarus a weapon against which Dives has neither shield nor armor."

23. TAXING A LUXURY TO ENFORCE GOD'S LAW.

Let us, as urged by Jefferson, tax inordinate wealth because it is a luxury, and on account of its ability to bear it.

Let us do this for the purpose of wiping out the crime of poverty and exterminating the sin of want.

Let us do this for the purpose of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and selling homes to the homeless.

Let us do this that government may have all the money it requires to settle every reasonable account and claim of the late war, pensions included, without wringing it out of the laboring masses.

In the great case pending, the factions supporting the two sides seem to wear the honors of independent cranks or cringing toadies. Let us who support the side of human rights and intend to uphold God's command, be cranks enough to act the part of men. Let us help to overturn the tables and disperse the councils of the money changers, and to scatter their superfluous and ill gotten dollars, by the silent and certain process of taxation and public expenditure.

We have common sense enough to know that present conditions will not long continue, and continue to develop in a Republic. There has got to be a change. *There will be a change.* Let us concede that a readjustment through the taxing power is not the best way. One thing we know. It's action is positive. It's grip is relentless. It's call is certain. It can tap the "barrels" of the multi-millionaires as deftly as they have filled them; and with a spirit of charity, humanity, and philanthropy which they have never shown in their schemes to rob the masses.

24. IF NOT AS PURIFYING AS THE SWORD,
STILL GOOD ENOUGH FOR US.

It may not be as purifying or rejuvenating as the sword. Granted that it is not; it is good enough for us. Then let us adopt it and enforce it while statesmen are evolving

some better way,—turning over a new leaf in 1896 that will restore to all law abiding American citizens an equal opportunity for the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Let us speak in '96 "what we think in hard words," and follow the light that we have in '96: that is, to take the most available path out of our present difficulties; holding ourselves ready to follow some better way when our present over-worked and not under-fed statesmen are able to show us the way to it; or when these sleek and crafty valets of Plutocracy are succeeded by men not shorn of the common instincts of humanity and the reasonable and righteous impulses of mankind.

The Tangle Untangled.

CHAPTER IV.

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1. DISSECTING THE BILL.

HAVING noticed the surface conditions that appeals to every patriot and Christian for immediate and radical measures to change them, let us dissect the specific measure which the Populist State Government of Kansas approved in 1893 and which has been four times introduced in Congress,—

first in February, 1892, and the last time May 1st, 1896, now standing on the calender as H. R. 8618, 1st S. 54th Congress. Originally it was No. 6595 which was its number at the date of the action of the Kansas Legislature.

Let us examine this measure to see if it will correct some of the wrongs from which we as a people are suffering, and if it has the attributes that should commend it to the industrial classes and draw from them sufficient support to ensure its enactment. Let us see *what it meant* when the Kansas Legislature asked Congress to enact it, and

2.

WHAT IT MEANT

When the writer asked the Kansas People's party convention to make room for it in their platform.

The wisest or wickedest political convention that ever convened in Crawford county, adopted, as part of their platform, Oct. 1st, 1891, the following Resolution:

Resolved, That we recommend the substitution of a Graduated ESTATE Tax for a graduated INCOME Tax in our National platform, the tax to begin at \$1,000,000. That estates in excess of one million and under two million dollars pay a one per cent. tax on the excess. Estates of from two to five million dollars pay a three per cent. rate on all above one million. Estates from five to ten million dollars, a rate of five per cent. additional, or eight per cent. on all above one million. And estates over ten million dollars ten per cent. more, or eighteen per cent. on all over one million dollars.

H. R. 6595 of 1892 was drawn in compliance with the above resolution, and in addition to provisions for the assessment and collection of a graduated property tax annually, it provided for paying all pensions and other war charges, employing all idle labor on public improvements and paying the cost of state military departments from this fund.

3. WHO DOES IT TAX?

There are 10,000 persons in the United States who hold over \$25,000,000,000 of our national accumulations, having from \$1,000,000 to \$175,000,000, each. This bill purposes to tax each one of them on what he has in excess of \$1,000,000. Many of them have barely the round million. They would be exempt. This would reduce the number to be taxed to the vicinity of 8,500.

There are 2,730 organized counties in the States, with an average population of 25,000. This project would tax an average of three persons in each 25,000, and commence a process of imposing taxes in proportion to the ability to pay it.

Had this average of 24,997 persons in each county who would be benefited by this project to gradually re-establish justice, better wait before taking action, for the consent of the other three whose ideas of justice and right have been cultivated in the same way as was Mills' religion? Shall we wait for the consent of the three before deciding to be just to the 24,977? We will if we have taken the side of those who demand the obliteration of God's law.

4. HOW MUCH?

It would collect from these 8,500 people whom we are protecting in the enjoyment of the luxury of inordinate wealth, and from a graduated tax on inheritances (beginning at \$100,000) the sum of \$2,000,000,000 the first year.

5. A MILD CATHARTIC.

When the strong arm of the government reaches for \$2,000,000,000 a year from the multi-millionaires, there will be no necessity for further discussion over percapita circulation, as those whose call at any time will be

heeded will demand an increase. If the government belongs irrevocably to the specified 10,000 through the perfidy of men who are their political vassals, no effort will be made to replevin this plunder. The strong arm of government will continue to be directed to the oppression and impoverishment of 65,000,000 people for the further gratification and glory of our 10,000 millionaires. In that event the 65,000,000 servants should continue to wax eloquent and enthusiastic over local questions and side issues, like the tariff and "circulation." They should continue to spell at the words given out by the masters;—to discuss the questions furnished, and take their medicine as prescribed. *If the government has not become the absolute and irretrievable servant of capital, the time for the people to deny it, and to resume their inalienable rights, is in 1896.* The way to do this is to resume their prerogatives, and call down the haughty Plutocrat that they have unwittingly allowed to assume the power of a dictator, *by the certain and peaceable process of taxation.*

The propriety of and imperative necessity for corrective measures is conceded. The Populist state government of Kansas recorded the fact that they favored the project now before Congress,

To call down the tyrant and twist the spine
Of the greedy usurpers, the millionaire cranks.

6. BY BIRTHRIGHT AND PRECEDENT.
KANSAS SHOULD LEAD.

In the struggle to wipe out chattel slavery, Kansas took the lead; and in the pending contest for the overthrow of industrial slavery, she placed herself at the head of the advancing column in 1893. Individual ambition and personal interest has helped to

soften the blow she then struck at Plutocracy, but a love for justice that was planted on Kansas soil forty years ago, has become as hardy as though indigenous. While ambition and error, prejudice and discord have brought disaster to the hosts of reform in Kansas, and carried joy to the enemies of equal rights throughout the country, Kansas will again be faithful to the principles planted at her birth, watered with the best blood, and bred in the bone. She will again take her place at the head of the advancing column of liberty's legions,—of enlightenment and progress.

We have seen that the demands of justice call for a heavy tax on the luxury of ill gotten and inordinate wealth to protect and employ those who have not the opportunity to get it. Also that the measure under consideration,—after permitting the plunderers to lay aside a million dollars apiece from their booty,—provides for collecting two billion dollars annually from the balance, to begin the great work of readjusting economic conditions and restoring to the masses the right to the fruits of their toil and the comforts of life.

7. DIFFUSING THE PLUNDER.

It costs us now to be governed, a little over a billion dollars a year (national, state and municipal). So the sum collected by this project would be nearly twice as large as all other public receipts.

This immense fund should not only be used in a way that would restore it to the people without delay, but to leave evidences of enduring benefits.

8. HOW TO DO THIS.

The first draft on this fund provided for in the bill, takes from the shoulders of the over-

taxed masses. the whole cost of pensions, including a service pension when that is ordered. In addition to that it provides for the payment to the ex-soldiers. the amount due them on account of the difference in value between the money they were paid in and coin. with interest at 6 per cent. from Jan. 1st. 1866. compounded semi-annually.

9. BANISHING FORCED IDLENESS

The second appropriation which the measure proposes to make from the proceeds of this tax, is to employ all idle labor—the forces which the gamblers have got cornered and are holding down in the Slough of Despond—on public improvements. and to pay for tools. materials. rights of way and sites for the same, in every organized county.

10. MAINTAINING THE MILITIA.

The third call on this fund is for the maintenance of the state military establishments. thereby permitting the corporations and the wealthy to pay the expenses of these departments. as the service rendered by state troops is almost entirely in behalf of these interests.

11. ALLOTING THE READJUSTING CURRENT.

The fundamental forces on which all increase in wealth is based. are land. labor. and money; the latter being the least important factor. In a process of readjustment all of these factors should be called into use. and we should be philosophical enough to give them all equal force—give them all an equality of energy,—though in the reverse process,—the taxation provided for in the constitution—the individuals—labor—have had to carry the whole burden. This precedent would justify a resort to the one factor—labor—on which to base our efforts to curtail the power of the millionaire cranks.

But the American Laborer seeks only justice, not vengeance. Hence this measure provides that the net proceeds of this graduated tax on inordinate wealth, shall be apportioned among the states in proportion to the three factors combined; one-third to area (land)—one-third to population (labor)—and one-third to wealth (money).

Under such an apportionment a state with one per cent. of the area, two per cent. of the population, and three per cent. of the wealth would draw one-third of six per cent. of \$2,000,000,000, or \$40,000,000.

Using the statistics of the 1890 census, the states of Kansas and Georgia would draw exactly the same amount, as follows:

| Per Cent. of Total. | Kansas | Georgia |
|---------------------|--------|---------|
| Area..... | 3.1 | 2.3 |
| Population..... | 2.3 | 2.9 |
| Wealth | 1.4 | 1.6 |
| TOTAL, . . . | 6.8 | 6.8 |

Six and eight-tenths per cent. of \$2,000,000,000, divided by three, equals \$45,333,333, to be expended in each of these states the first year. The following table show the apportionment to some of the other states on the same estimate of net receipts:

| STATE. | Per Cent. of Total. | | | | APPORTIONMENT. |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------|-------|----------------|
| | Area | Population. | Wealth | Total | |
| New York | 1.8 | 9.6 | 14.9 | 26.3 | \$175,333,333 |
| Pennsylvania. | 1.8 | 8.4 | 10.4 | 20.6 | 137,333,333 |
| Texas | 10.5 | 3.6 | 3.1 | 17.2 | 114,666,667 |
| California..... | 6.0 | 2.9 | 4.3 | 13.2 | 88,000,000 |
| Massachusetts | 0.3 | 3.6 | 8.5 | 12.4 | 82,666,667 |
| Illinois..... | 2.1 | 6.1 | 3.2 | 11.4 | 76,000,000 |
| Missouri | 2.5 | 4.3 | 3.5 | 10.3 | 68,666,667 |
| Iowa | 2.1 | 3.1 | 2.0 | 7.2 | 48,000,000 |
| New Jersey..... | 0.3 | 2.3 | 3.5 | 6.1 | 40,666,667 |
| Colorado..... | 4.0 | 0.7 | 0.9 | 5.6 | 37,333,333 |
| North Carolina | 1.9 | 2.6 | 0.9 | 5.4 | 36,000,000 |
| Arkansas | 2.0 | 1.8 | 0.3 | 4.5 | 30,000,000 |
| Rhode Island | 00.05 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 1.95 | 13,000,000 |
| Delaware | 00.08 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.68 | 4,333,333 |

12. INTO THE POCKETS OF HONEST LABOR.

Having apportioned this \$2,000,000,000 among the states and deposited it with several state treasurers, making them thereby National depositories, the next step is to get it into the people's pockets where it belongs. That there may be no opportunity for dallying over or meddling with the veterans dues, the bill provided in Sec. 24 that, "The Treasury Department of the United States shall, during the last week in January and July of each year, certify to the Treasurer of each of the states their estimate of the funds that will be required during the next six months to meet the drafts for the ex-soldiers who are residents of that state; and on receipt of this notification, the said Treasurer shall deduct and set apart from the proceeds of this tax the amount so certified."

Sec. 22 provides that payments shall be made for pensions by draft of the Pension Bureau on the Treasurer of each state, for pensioners who are residents of that state. (This Sec. specifies pensions "allowed by the United States for service in the war between the States." This should be amended to cover the pensioners of all previous wars.)

Sec. 25 provides that after these amounts have been deducted to meet the payments to ex-soldiers, the balance of this fund shall be expended by the state authorities on public improvements and the state military establishment.

13. FEASIBLE, JUST AND CERTAIN.

Now having seen that the re-adjustment of opportunities and conditions proposed by this measure is *feasible*; that it is *just*; that its action would be *certain* and its beneficent effects *immediately realized*; let us see if it also

has other attributes that should enable it to command the support of the Union veterans, of the industrial classes, and of the Confederate veterans; and thereby inaugurate a co-operation for saving the Nation, that would insure its enactment. Let us resume the consideration of *what it meant* when it received the sanction and support of the Populist State Government of Kansas.

14. AS TO THE UNION SOLDIER.

For thirty years the veterans have shown their loyalty and leniency by not prosecuting their claim against the Government for back pay. They are entitled to their long withheld dues. They should now demand them. They not only risked their lives and poured out their blood, but they *gave* more in actual money value to the government than heavy usury and light patriotism induced the capitalists to lend it.

In discussing this feature of the records of the war and the nation's unpaid debt to the veteran soldier, the *National Tribune* of May 4th, 1893, said in an article headed,

15 "LENDING GOLD AND GIVING MANHOOD."

"Every man who answered the government's call made a distinct and very large pecuniary sacrifice, to say nothing as to the hardships and dangers he was to encounter. The government wages—at first \$11 and then \$13 a month—were very much lower than those a man would receive at home working at anything he chose to follow. The Volunteer, filled with love of country, started out by making a large monetary contribution to the country in the difference between the wages that he was then receiving and those that it offered him. On the other hand the money lenders, who ran no personal risk whatever, insisted on driving a hard bargain with the government."

"Toward the last of 1862 it was clearly seen that this struggle was to be a prolonged one. * * * Up to this time the total loans to the government were \$783,804,256, while 1,079,331 men had volunteered for three years, showing that the money lenders had only loaned about \$780 for every man who had volunteered for three years."

* * * * *

"By July 1864 the gold value of the greenback had fallen to 38 cents on the dollar. A man would take \$100 in greenbacks, the gold value of which was \$38, and buy with them a bond for \$100, upon which he would receive \$6 in gold for interest, or nearly 16 per cent.

"In spite of this enormous profit, they absolutely refused to lend any more money in July, 1864. It was the most critical period of the war. * * * * * The harassed Secretary of the Treasury rushed off to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston to have personal interviews with the moneyed men, and beg them to raise him \$50,000,000 for the emergency. Not a dollar could he get.

"In his despair he turned to the gallant men who, with undaunted resolution, were facing the enemy around Petersburg, Atlanta and elsewhere. He made no mistake there. They were as ready to aid the government with their money as they were with their gallant hearts and stalwart arms, and out of their scanty pay they loaned it over \$20,000,000, which greatly helped to tide over the crisis "

* * * * *

"In all, the money lenders lent the government \$2,351,530,294 in paper money. As the average value of the greenbacks in which these loans were made was about 60 cents, this represents a gold value of only \$1,428,918,120. On this the bond holders have received nearly \$5,000,000,000 in gold, or about four times the original lending."

"On the other hand the 2,000,000 men who fought the battles of the Union through to a triumphant finish, each sacrificed fully \$1,500 in the diminished earnings accepted in order to serve and save the country. *In other words they absolutely gave the country hundreds of millions of dollars more than the bondholders lent it.*"

"Yet the men who, in addition to fighting for their country as men never fought before, robbed themselves and their families of their scanty earnings in order to help the Nation out of its mortal peril, have received in pensions less than \$1,500,000,000, while the bondholders have received more than three times as much."

16. A NEW PARTY DEMANDS JUSTICE FOR THE VETERANS.

This bill and its endorsement by the Populist State Government meant that a new party was taking up the cause of the veterans: a party that proposed to reimburse them for their money loss, and cancel this debt, not by collecting the funds for this purpose from the impoverished masses, but from those who

had received the greater benefits from the war: a party that would not require the testimony in behalf of an applicant for a disability pension to show whether his trouble was Republican rheumatism;—or Democratic rheumatism; only that it was a Union soldier's rheumatism; a party that will do this because they are pledged to "*Never cease to move forward till every wrong is righted.*"

That is what the Sunflower Tangle meant; and it is what the Populist State Government endorsement meant. But it meant more than that. It meant that Kansas invited the loyal South,—once wayward and rebellious—so recently defiant and aggressive, for aid in compelling the Government to do justice to the soldiers that defeated them, by settling this immense balance due the Union soldiers, and by granting them service pensions. That is what it meant, and it meant more than that. *It meant*

*A co-operation for saving the Nation,
Of bold Johnny Rebs and brave Billy Yanks.*

It meant a *Treaty of Reciprocity* between these old time enemies who knew from bitter experience what "turning loose the dogs of war" means; and who, first one and then the other had swallowed the dredges from the cup of disaster. While the feeling of bitterness on one side and exultation on the other was inevitable at the time of the final surrender, the philosophy that stirred "Bill Arp" to say he ought to be satisfied as he had killed as many of the Yanks as they had of him, soon led all factions to rejoice over a Union triumphant.

17. TALMAGE ON THE VICTOR'S RETURN.

There was a memorable reference to the events of the closing days of the war at the annual dinner of the New England society of

New York in 1886. The eloquent Henry W. Grady spoke for the "New South," and followed Dr. Talmage, who pictured the return of the "boys in blue." He (Dr. T.) was a spectator at the grand review,—possibly a guest—and of that event he says:

"It was the greatest day I ever saw. The like was never witnessed in this world and never will be again. It was the day when the armies came back from the South and marched in review before the President at Washington. God knew that the day was stupendous, and He cleared the heavens of cloud and mist and chill, and strung the blue sky as a triumphal arch for the returning warriors to pass under. From Arlington Heights the spring foliage shook out its welcome as the hosts came over the hills, and the sparkling waters of the Potomac tossed their gold to greet the battalions as they came over the long bridge in almost interminable lines. The Capitol never seemed so majestic as that morning, snowy white, looking upon the tide of men that came surging down, billow after billow, passing in silence; yet I heard in every step the roar of those conflicts through which they had waded; and seemed to see, dripping from their smoky flags, the blood of our country's martyrs."

"For the best part of two days we stood and watched the filing on of the same endless battalions, brigade after brigade; division after division: host after host; ever moving, ever passing; marching, marching. Tramp, tramp, tramp! Thousands after thousands. Commanders on horses, with their reins entwined with roses, their necks enchained with garlands—hundreds of thousands of heroes marching on! Huzza! Huzza! Shall I ever forget the day?"

18. GRADY ON THE GOING OF THE VANQUISHED.

In his eloquent tribute to the Southern soldiers, Mr. Grady who followed Dr. Talmage, said:

"Dr. Talmage has drawn for you with a master's hand, the picture of your returning armies. He has told you how, in the pomp and circumstance of war, they came back to you marching with proud and victorious tread, reading their glory in a Nation's eyes! Will you bear with me while I tell you of another army that sought its home at the close of the late war—an army that marched home in defeat and not in victory—in pathos and not in splendor, but in glory that equalled yours, and to hearts as loving as ever welcomed heroes home? Let me picture to you the foot-sore Confederate soldier, as buttoning up in his faded gray jacket the parole

which was to bear testimony to his children of his fidelity and faith, he turned his face southward from Appomattox in April, 1865. Think of him as ragged, half starved, heavy hearted; enfeebled by want and wounds; having fought to exhaustion he surrenders his gun, wrings the hands of his comrades in silence, and lifting his tear-stained and pallid face for the last time to the graves that dot the old Virginia hills, pulls his gray cap over his brow and begins the slow and painful journey. What does he find, let me ask you who went to your homes, eager to find in the welcome you had justly earned full payment for four years sacrifice? What did he find when, having followed the battle-stained cross against overwhelming odds, dreading death not half so much as surrender, he reaches the home he left so prosperous and beautiful? He finds his house in ruins, his farm devastated, his slaves free, his stock killed, his barns empty, his trade destroyed, his money worthless, his social system, feudal in its magnificence, swept away, his people without law or legal status, his comrades slain, and the burdens of others heavy on his shoulders. Crushed by defeat his very traditions are gone. Without money, credit, employment, material or training,—and besides all this confronted with the gravest problem that ever met human intelligence,—the establishing of a status for the vast body of his liberated slaves.”

19. EX-REBELS AND RECIPROCITY.

It might seem presumptuous for the victors to ask the vanquished for assistance in forcing the government to fulfil its obligations to its defenders. It would be, under ordinary circumstances, but the benevolent angel of reciprocity can make many a rugged way smooth. Times too have changed since the Southern cross went down. The scars and devastation of the war are mostly gone. The questions of the war are settled and its bitter memories banishes. New issues are upon us.

Believing as the Southern people did at that time, it was their duty to rebel. Believing as we do, it was our duty to whip them. They were entitled to the rights of belligerents. I fought with the North. There are those with us who fought on the other side. It matters not to me now where they fought, or if they ever raised a dagger to strike me.

down. That was their privilege. We were enemies then. We are friends now. No people ever took up arms with a more sincere and mistaken sense of duty than they did. No people ever deserved to be whipped more than they did. They deserved our enmity and chastisement then. They were scourged and beaten. No people ever resumed their duties as citizens more readily or sincerely, or renewed their loyalty more fully. They deserve our confidence, our right hand of fellowship, our sympathy, now. I have given them mine; and I trust those whose knowledge of war's horrors is not from personal experience, will do no less.

29. THE AMERICAN IDEA.

It is time the last of its animosities were put as far behind us as are its atrocities, and for a spirit of congeniality and reciprocity to disarm and subdue any stray vestige of envy and distrust. Sound and patriotic counsel on this duty has been left us by Mr. Grady, who in a speech in Boston on Dec. 12th, 1889, said:

"A mighty duty Sir, and a mighty inspiration impels every one of us to-night to lose in patriotic consecration whatever estranges, and whatever divides. We, Sir, are Americans and we fight for human liberty! The uplifting force of the American idea is under every throne on earth. To redeem the earth from kingcraft and oppression—this is our mission! And we shall not fail. God has sown in our soil His millennial harvest."

It is for us of to-day to see that the American idea resumes its pristine vigor and legal position; to see that its fullness and supremacy are restored, and the dupes and vassals of its plutocratic enemies are officially notified that their teachings are a heresy— their doings treason.

Among the fallacies of their one-sided philosophy there is nothing more fraudulent than their method of taxation. Instead of

imposing taxes in proportion to their ability to pay or bear them. they are now generally imposed in proportion to the inability to escape or evade them while exemptions are in proportion to the ability to pay. The bill in question not only proposes to reverse the habit to commence a just process, but also to correct some of the injustice already done through the subservience of government to plutocratic dictators.

It will not only relieve the toiling masses of the West and South, from the great drain for the pension fund, but of the East as well, as it places the entire burden of this immense sum on the class which received the greater financial benefits from the war, and who have used the power and opportunities which they could not have acquired except through the valor and sacrifices of the men who stood between them and ruin—between their government and anarchy—to plunder and persecute, to impoverish and curse; the class who have placed their country in the lead, in the pathway of nations.

These favored few—the millionaires—now have the property of the country.

21. ATTACK THE MILLIONAIRES

with the constitutional weapon of the ballot. Dig the foundation from under their piles by a hydraulic stream of taxation. Diffuse the washings in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,—by the humane command of charity and the biblical command of God. That is what the resolution passed by the Kansas Legislature meant.

It is what the bill now before Congress means, and that the first payment from the proceeds of this readjusting tax be for the

purpose of meeting the claims of the Union Soldiers against the government: and that the partisan and penurious spirit displayed by the government in its treatment of its defenders be overcome by the aid of the ex-Confederates.

Do you ask wherein is the spirit of Reciprocity in this proposition?

At present our 10,000 millionaires, who have their railroads, their manufactories and warehouses, their mortgages and pipe lines all over the country, if they have a family of four persons, pay \$10 each to make up this fund. The laborer who makes \$10 a week, and the crippled veteran who may have to live on his meager pension, pays about the same as the millionaire. We(?) have two millionaires whose income is about \$10,000,000 a year each, and many who have \$1,000,000 a year or \$5.40 a minute. So the laborer with a family of four and a \$10 salary, works a week to pay his share of this war account; while the necessary amount rolls into the other man's pocket in one and six-sevenths minutes.

For thirty years the laboring men have been paying this account. This bill proposes that the millionaires shall pay it awhile. Their vast possessions are scattered through every state, and whether they cluster in New York or Chicago,—whether they summer in Europe or Newport—whether they hibernate in New York or Washington, this measure shows them how they may do their part in paying the debt of the Nation to its defenders.

That is what this measure means. It is what the endorsement of the Kansas State Government meant. Will the men whose blood stained banner passed into the shadows

at Appomattox refuse to aid in lifting this burden from the shoulders of their laboring people and putting it on the shoulders of the men who have been sharp enough to escape it for 30 years?

22. LIFTING A BURDEN FROM THE SHOULDERS OF LABOR.

One of the features in this measure of Reciprocity says to the sturdy and patriotic men of the South, aid us in forcing the Government to keep its obligation to the soldiers that saved the country, and we united will take this great burden from the shoulders of all of our toilers and put it where it belongs, on the wealth of the land instead of on the poverty of the people.

Do the men of the South not see *where* is the spirit and essence of mutual assistance in this?

Take your statistical tables showing population, pension payments, and other charges on account of the war. The present annual war charges amount to about \$2.50 apiece, which is collected from the citizens of all of the states. Now figure what the citizens of the several states pay on this account. Put beside these figures the amount they receive from pensions. The following gives a few of these figures.

| States | Pay on War Account. | Receive from Pensions 1894. |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| New York..... | \$14,994,632 | \$11,937,643 |
| Ohio | 9,180,790 | 14,737,192 |
| Indiana..... | 5,481,010 | 10,841,566 |
| Iowa | 4,779,740 | 5,760,364 |
| Kansas | 3,567,740 | 6,048,592 |
| Tennessee..... | 4,418,795 | 2,658,726 |
| Texas..... | 5,588,807 | 1,030,283 |
| North Carolina..... | 4,044,867 | 572,334 |
| Georgia..... | 4,593,382 | 511,271 |

The laboring masses pay the bulk of these sums in the shape of what is really a per capita tax. The scheme in question relieves

all but the millionaires of this charge, and puts not only the whole of it on the latter class, but also enough tax to completely liquidate the union soldiers other claims. Though the possessions of our 10,000 millionaires are spread over the country from Gad to Beersheba, their property would be required to pay in proportion to the owner's ability.

This pension fund has been an onerous burden to the Southern people. Under this measure no state would receive any less than now. Instead, every state would receive much more, but it would be collected from a different source.

Every state would be benefited by a release from the total amount its individual citizens now pay on its accounts, as it would then be gathered from the vast accumulations of plunder that now are a curse to the masters in their castles and the slaves in their cabins.

Releasing the industrial classes from this load would practically release the state so far as business prosperity is concerned, as thriving business in a state or nation is dependent upon the prosperity of the masses.

At present the Northern States get very much more than they pay; and the Southern States pay much more than they get. Releasing them both from the drafts on their industrial classes will bless both and wrong neither, even if it forces the millionaires to disgorge for the purpose of enabling the government to fulfill its obligations to the Union soldiers. That is what the resolution endorsed by the Kansas State Government meant, and it is what H. R. 8618 now before Congress means.

23. ARE YOU READY FOR THE QUESTION?

No Sir! The bill though pigeon-holed by the finance committee is being discussed by a higher house. It is not going to be tabled until it is debated. It is not going to be passed without being understood. Nor is it going to be sneaked out of the pigeon-hole and skulked into the waste basket by the quiet instructions of a wink to a janitor or clerk, without an opportunity for its enemies to point out its wickedness, or its friends to understand its proposed effects. It is not going to be *expunged without a protest* nor do we ask that it be *enacted without a roll call*.

24. THE ANGEL OF RECIPROCITY.

The measure contains not only the olive branch of peace, but the Angel of Reciprocity has come with his benignant smiles to help carry its benefactions into 12,000,000 homes. One of the paths he would follow has already been outlined. Another will be discussed after a brief summary of what the project proposes for the toilers.

25. AS TO THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

Business is never dull when the laborer can find work at good wages. Times are never hard when all are profitably employed, and wages are never low when there are no involuntary idlers. Times are dull now because of the millions of idlers unable to get the things they need, and of the low wages of those still at work, including the farmers who now work practically for nothing.

Thirty million people seem to be a few million more than our 10,000 millionaires care to employ. A few millions idle and in want makes it so much easier to adjust the rations and pocket money of those they retain. Really, as a business matter, it is best for

them to keep a few millions idle. By keeping 5,000,000 idle and 5,000,000 more on short rations, capital can hire labor at its own figures; and so, to keep a good supply on the anxious seat, the services of a few million are not needed "just at present."

The millionaires with no other incentive than cold blooded avarice are not competent to pursue any different policy. Labor in self defense must show them a better way. In a spirit of fraternity it must rebuild their environment, reconstruct their disjointed ideas of morality and duty to their fellowmen, and clean out the fountain of their inspirations.

This measure which the Kansas State Government endorsed takes the laborer's side in this struggle and furnishes upwards of a billion dollars a year to the several states to give employment to the idle, and thereby advance the pay of every other toiler. It proposes to make the demand for labor exceed the supply, and to get the fund for doing this by a tax on the Plutocrats plunder, to be expended in public improvements under state and county authority. Sections 25, 26, 27 and 28 show how.

26.

REVIVING GOD'S LAW.

This will revive God's law "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou (*have opportunity to*) eat bread;" and it will repeal the Plutocrats amendment "*The People be Damned.*"

It means—the laborer, being worthy of his hire—he is going to get it without being gouged and buncoed and swindled and bled at every turn to keep a select bevy of useless drones lounging in some shady nook and gloating over the success of their villainous schemes to plunder the farmers whose mis-

placed confidence has given them the opportunity to show how fully they have betrayed these friends of their childhood.

It means an end to the steady drain from industry; an end to the demands of the usurer; an end to the rule of Shylock; and that the gentle hand of justice will tear the motto from the tenant's door, that Shylock has just put there—"The People be Damned"—and placard the gorgeous palaces of Fifth Avenue with his revised version of the epigram—"The Dollar be Damned."

It means an opportunity for every American citizen to earn a home, and that 100 per cent. of the citizens of New York may live under their own roof, instead of six per cent. as now.

It means somewhat of a return to the Christian impulses of our fathers, a repudiation of the alliance with Satan, an end to the daily confession at the shrine of the Golden Calf, and the restoration of, and a new lease of life for the American Republic.

It means that the opportunities for improvement, for recreation, for having the comforts of life, and a taste of its luxuries now monopolized by the few, will be extended to the many; and Reader, that your children and mine will never be forced to go to bed hungry or accept the cold crust of charity.

27. WHAT SAY YOU, BRIGADIERS OF LABOR'S LEGIONS?

Are you ready to sanction a new combine,
A coming together of once hostile ranks,
That will call down the tyrant and twist the spine,
Of the greedy usurpers, the millionaire cranks?

They have too long been shielded in prosecuting their grand schemes of plunder by the aid of laws they have instructed their tools in Washington to pass, and of funds these

servants have extorted from the producers.

The toilers are on the border land of poverty. Their persecutors stand by gloating over their downfall, while figuring on new schemes to grind them in the dust. Our President is their servant. Our Congress is made up of their vassals. Our Courts are their valets. These servants of Mammon's apostle are instructed what to do in behalf of their masters, the same as a trusted and faithful scullion is instructed how he shall bring pleasure to his lord. They have been protected in the enjoyment of the luxury of inordinate wealth by the use of funds they have had their vassals appropriate from the scanty earnings of the toilers as before shown. It is time they had a new idea in finance. This bill proposes a new lesson.

It may not be as hard a lesson as they should learn. It may not be the best lesson they could have. Let us concede it is not. But it is better than none. It defines a policy more equitable than the methods they practice for plundering the millions. It will bury the Plutocrats battle ax of starvation, and teach him a lesson from the manual of humanity.

Exempting the industrial classes it calls on the millionaires for the funds to meet the greatest annual charge against the Government, from which they have been exempt till they claim it as a right, and also for money for two new funds.

28. ROUTING THE GUERILLAS OF PLUTOCRACY.

They have prosecuted their war on the toilers through trusted bands of guerillas, covering the intricate mazes of commercial and financial transactions. They flood the lobby with their followers. They fill the

chairs of the press censors with their tools, and the columns of the metropolitan dailies with their poison. Labor need not resort to so reprehensible methods to oppose them, or assert the righteousness of its purpose or proclaim the justice of its demands. It can meet these guerillas of Plutocracy with a solid line of labors legions armed with the open and silent, the honorable and invincible weapon of the ballot, that demands a process of taxation that will not only correct the wrongs of the present, and make restitution to labor for the wrongs of the past, but that will call back these wild and reckless freebooters to the realms of virtue and loyalty, of fraternity, charity, and liberty. When once understood there need be no fear but that the industrial classes will sustain the Kansas State Government in its endorsement of the measure for a Graduated Tax on the property of the millionaires for the purpose of dissipating the plunder in their vast accumulations, and giving to labor its rightful position—its just reward.

29. AS TO THE EX-CONFEDERATE.

It is more than thirty years since our civil war closed. The Southern people are now as loyal as those of any other section. The lessons the war taught us can never be forgotten. The faith and spirit of the contending hosts, and the sacrifices they made in maintaining their interpretation of our fundamental law, will make these lessons as enduring as monumental brass; but it is time the last vestige of its sectional prejudices, and partisan animosities were buried, both because there is no sense in longer nursing them, and because political valets of Plutocracy have used the opportunities they offer,

to serve their masters and wrong the Nation and its loyal people. Had the civil questions of the war been settled by the men who fought its battles, instead of the ferocious "stay at home rangers," the spirit of harmony and good will would have spread its mantle of fraternity over the victor and vanquished twenty years ago.

The past however is beyond our reach. The present and future alone remain for us to improve. A spirit of fraternity between the "Bold Johnny Reb," and the "Brave Billy Yank" prevades the measure under discussion. It has already been shown how a release of the industrial classes from the load of war charges would practically release the state; as by taking this sum from the pockets of the multi-millionaires instead of from the laborer's scanty pay, the latter would have this vast sum for their own use and the former would not be pinched so as to materially curtail his personal expenses. If we tax him enough to enable the Government to keep all of its contracts with its defenders, and pay them from this fund; it will, while releasing the industrial classes from present exactions, add to the business stimulant and impulses throughout the country, as an enormous sum would at once be thrown into industrial channels without taking much out.

30. ANOTHER CHANNEL OF RECIPROCITY.

The veteran soldiers have been swindled long enough for the purpose of pouring unwarranted dividends into the coffers of the bond holders—dividends not authorized by the original contracts and the Southern States have been punished long enough for any good purpose.

They no longer look on the north as their enemy; nor have they any reason to. They know too that in the conflict that tested the mettle of both sections, however much of treasure and blood they freely gave in defense of what they then thought their rights, it cost us more of treasure and more of blood to bring them home. While they may not thank us for the vigor displayed by the North during the struggle, they show their appreciation of the forbearance evinced when they yielded to force, by their sturdy loyalty of the present.

One channel of reciprocity has already been outlined in the examination of the Union Soldier's interest in this measure. Another one is contained in the method of distribution of the proceeds of this tax. The project calls for a semi-annual deposit by the U. S. treasurer with the several state treasurers, of an amount in proportion to the area, population and wealth of the states. From these deposits the Pension Bureau then draws what is required for the veterans claims, drawing from each state treasurer the amount required for residents of that state. The residue of the state's share of the proceeds of this tax is then expended under state authority on public improvements and the military establishment. So whether a state has a large or small roll of pensions its receipts under this bill would be just the same; and what was not expended to cancel the claims of the veterans, would be the funds of the State, appropriated for the purposes specified above. Now let us see

31. HOW THE SCHEME WOULD WORK IN PRACTICE.

Take as examples the two states before referred to that would receive the same amount from the net proceeds of this tax—Georgia

and Kansas. On the estimated first year's receipts from this tax the U. S. Treasurer would deposit with the treasurer of each of these states the sum of \$45,333,333. Without counting in the service pension or the backpay, which the bill provides for, the draft of the Pension Bureau on this fund would be about \$6,000,000 for the Kansas soldiers, and \$500,000 for those in Georgia. Kansas would then have upward of \$39,050,000 for the other purposes, and Georgia would have nearly \$45,000,000. This would give Georgia a surplus to smooth over the last vestige of the scars of war. The south would then have the means to develop their yet latent resources, in stupendous public improvements, that for thirty years they have been forced to forego for the lack of funds; and at the same time the North would have the cash to pay the last nickle of the soldier's just claims, as well as immense sums for the same grand purpose of public improvements.

32. THE SENSE OF RECIPROCITY; THE NONSENSE IN ANIMOSITY.

Is there any reason why the gallant Southern soldier, who, with his parole in his pocket and wringing the hands of his comrades in silence, turned his back on the grave-dotted Virginia hills about Appomattox and began his journey home, as pictured by Grady, cannot support such a measure of Reciprocity as will, while releasing them from an onerous burden and carrying back to their laboring people a large per cent. of their lost earnings of the past thirty years, force the government to turn the current of its generosity from the plundering capitalists to the patient and patriotic veterans whose valor and sacrifices brought us safely through that memorable struggle?

Is there any reason why the brave Northern soldiers, who, at the grand review at Washington came surging down Pennsylvania avenue, of whom Talmage says: "billow after billow; passing in silence; yet I heard in every step the roar of those conflicts through which they had waded; and seemed to see, dripping from their smoky flags the blood of our country's martyrs," cannot support a measure of Reciprocity that, while forcing the Government to forget its many times redeemed obligations to the bond holder long enough to cancel its unpaid debt to its sturdy defenders in our "hour of darkness and peril and need,"—while releasing our laboring masses from an onerous burden of taxation and offering them the opportunities for advancement and the comforts of life which are rightly theirs by the command of God Almighty and the promise of our fundamental law—accords to the men who wore the gray and their section, opportunities for a new lease of life and a new song of liberty as they share with us the proceeds of this readjusting measure?

There is no reason why the heroes who wore the blue should not make a treaty of reciprocity with the heroes who wore the gray, and form an Alliance as outlined above: A co-operation for saving the Nation, of the bold Johnny Rebs with the brave Billy Yanks.

33.

LET US HAVE PEACE.

In holding out these opportunities to the industrial classes, to the Northern veterans, and the ex-Confederates, the measure in question possesses the attributes that will enable it to command the support of a majority of the American people when fairly understood.

In the replevin of \$20,000,000,000 of the Plutocrat's plunder, in the next decade, and restoring it to the toiling millions, it would make record of a long step in the re-adjustment of economic conditions, that would inevitably be continued until the demand of the Omaha Platform for "equal rights for all and special privileges for none" would pass from a dream to a fact.

In offering land to the landless, and in restoring to every industrious American citizen a home of his own, it would re-establish the fabric of our institutions on a substantial foundation.

In turning into the State Treasuries a large fund for public improvements, which the measure provides shall be expended in sites, right of way, tools, and the employment of idle labor, it would furnish the states the funds which they could use if they chose for either the construction or the purchase of railroads and telegraphs. With money they could use for this purpose in the treasuries, and more coming in every six months *from the counter current of a re-adjusting pipe-line*, the people through their state officers would be masters of the situation. State ownership would be less cumbersome, and probably more successful than National, as the management would be nearer the people - more closely watched, and more accessible.

34.

LABOR'S JUBILEE.

With these immense funds flowing back from the piles of plunder, whose vicious getting and corrupt use have contaminated the springs of individual effort and corrupted our vast system of public service through the various state treasuries into the channels of industrial activity, every resting nerve and

muscle of the Nation would resume its work. The lack of confidence would be dissipated in a night. The depressions in business would vanish with the morning sun. The last wheel of industry would resume its merry hum, *for we would have Cut the Gordian Knot* that locks the property of the Nation in the corsair's coffers, and turned a steady counteracting stream from the Vampire's Vaults through a Re-adjusting Pipe-Line back into the producer's pockets. This process would soon restore to those who have created it, a reasonable per cent. of the Nation's wealth.

With the idlers employed; with business revived; with the veterans rewarded; with confidence restored; with the producers garnering a profitable harvest; with consumers able to double their purchases and willing to pay fair prices, a rainbow of content would span the country from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate; and the anthems of a prosperous people would again *carry to the tyrants of the Old World, the tidings of America's despots deposed and the American Republic restored.*

That is what the *Sunflower Tangle* meant. It is what the Kansas State Government endorsement of H. R. 6595 meant. It is what the present bill (No. 8618) means.

Will the Kansas delegation to the National Peoples Party Convention help to cut the Gordian Knot of combined capital, and in the pending case vote to re-establish human rights rather than condone money wrongs?

Will they uphold the action and efforts of their State Government in behalf of *A Graduated Property Tax* for attacking the combinations and corporations that now hold the battle ax of Starvation over the heads of American Laborers by the help of their allies, —perjured Courts and a boodling Congress?

Will they, armed with the powerful and harmless—the peaceful and conquering—the mild and effective weapon of Graduated Property Taxation entwined in an olive branch and stamped on a ballot, lead the assault on the intrenchments of an insolent, a law breaking and God defying enemy of Republican Institutions, who holds fortified positions in every state and has been able to “quarter a soldier in every house?”

The details in the measure discussed are not essential. They were drawn to outline a basis for discussion to get a starting point; to modify or amend as debate or experiment revealed the necessity. The general principle of a graduated tax on property, and the necessity for it and the possibilities of it are the vital features of the measure.

Shall the conclusions of our State Government on this question be sustained, and will Kansas again guide the car of progress over a great “divide” between hostile theories—a divide between a land cursed with the blight of industrial slavery, and a realm where the laborer as well as the loafer may gather the fruit and enjoy the shade of his own vine and fig tree?

Let us of Kansas in doing the part to which destiny seems to have called us, in behalf of the cause we advocate and the justice we demand, realizing that, under present conditions, Republican Institutions are a practical failure, and that the curtain must soon fall to close the last act of the great comedy-tragedy play, so mould our purposes and inflexibly draft our designs, that from the very fairness of our plans and the equity of our projects, we may convince the jury of 12,000,000 men to whose calm judgement we

appeal, that it rests with them *to now say* to our imperious masters, whether or not we will sit idly by to see Republican Institutions go down, or whether from,

Justice's honored castle

We will hurl the wild Pretender

And install our old Defender.

Let us speak in 1896 in hard words the thoughts of 1896, and hold out the olive branch of lasting peace to the autocratic usurpers; an olive branch whose every leaf will sparkle with the jewels of fraternity; and whose nodding sprays will make fragrant every breeze that fans them, by the exhalations from the blessed message it bears to the agents and representatives of capitalistic despotism. THAT IT IS HEREBY DECREED THAT NO LAW ABIDING AND INDUSTRIOUS AMERICAN CITIZEN SHALL LONGER SUFFER FROM WANT IN A LAND OF PLENTY; THAT NO AMERICAN CHILDREN SHALL BE LONGER FORCED TO GET THEIR EDUCATION IN THE CITY STREETS; THAT NO AMERICAN FAMILY SHALL BE TURNED INTO THE HIGHWAYS AND SCATTERED TO THE WINDS IN A LAND DOTTED WITH DESERTED HOMES, for lack of an opportunity to earn, not only the necessities but the comforts of life; AS THE SHACKLES OF INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY, WITH THE GOLDEN CALF IT HAS ENABLED THE MASTERS TO REAR AND INDUCED THEM TO WORSHIP, ARE TO BE THROWN TOGETHER INTO THE FURNACE OF

GRADUATED PROPERTY TAXATION.

The Grip of a Great Corporation.

CHAPTER V.

Contents: 1. Railroad Assessments. 2. Speculative and Assessed Values. 3. "Slipped a Cog." 4. Old Friends. 5. Cornered Populists. 6. First Reports. 7. Reports Confirmed. 8. A Protest Filed. 9. A Meeting of the Board Called. 10. Two Uninvited Guests. 11. King Party and a Spectre Come. 12. An Important Question. 13. The Senate Orders an Investigation. 14. A Triple Alliance Annuls the Order. 15. A Difference of Opinion. 16. One Good Turn Deserves Another. 17. Spiked Guns. 18. A Guarded Wood-pile. 19. "Watchman! What of the Night?"

1. SOME RAILROAD ASSESSMENTS.

THE Gordian Knot of capital, that supports a barrier usually dividing the masses into two nearly equal contending forces, and keeps them disputing over "local questions," shimmering illusions and the smoke of extinct volcanoes, cannot be cut without unseating some party gods and sweeping some wayward watchmen from party decks.

To cut this knot, parties must be forced to say what they mean, and leaders to practice what they are told to preach. When they do this they will "Hew to the Line." This is the purpose of the Populist party. Among the things on which more light is necessary, to enable them to hew to the line in Kansas, are the railroad assessments of 1894 and '95. Nor will the opportunities offered by sending

some X rays through these transactions, be confined to Populist hewers. They will carry to the moguls of our wily enemies, an invitation to inspect the bones, and measure the dimensions of the skeleton in their closet, though a Santa Fe guard may stand at the door.

Corporations and combined capital are synonymous terms. The relentless purpose and noxious methods they follow are their common attributes.

I have referred in a previous chapter to the grip of a great corporation here in Kansas. The handiwork of the Santa Fe R. R. Co. is found at every turn in the political history of the state for the past twenty years.

There has been for several years, an unusual interest in the question of Railroad Assessments, both on account of the large interests involved, and the efforts of some of the companies to evade their share of public burdens; and also from a feeling that politics had something to do with adjusting the valuations. This work is done by a state board consisting of the lieutenant governor, auditor, attorney general, treasurer and secretary of state.

Reports show the milage and valuations for the past six years as follows:

| Year | Miles | Valuation. |
|------|---------|--------------|
| 1890 | 8762.64 | \$57,866,233 |
| 1891 | 8852.81 | 50,865,825 |
| 1892 | 8844.62 | 51,404,544 |
| 1893 | 8839.96 | 61,731,035 |
| 1894 | 8832.31 | 59,764,683 |
| 1895 | 8829.22 | 59,503,654 |

The great reduction made in the assessment in 1891 was defended by an elaborate argument in the report of the board and criticised by the press and condemned by the people. It is generally understood that this argument was written by the attorney general

who was a Democrat elected by the aid of Populist votes. The general protest against the work of the board found expression in the refusal of the conventions of the next year to renominate any of the officers concerned in it.

In 1893 the Populists came into power and the railroad valuation was raised over \$10,000,000. At the request of the board I wrote the argument in the report of that year defending the increase. Most of the railroad companies, and especially the Santa Fe, grumbled severely at the change.

2. SPECULATIVE AND ASSESSED VALUES.

The railroads reported to the State Board of Railroad Commissioners in 1893 that their outstanding liabilities for their Kansas mileage amounted to \$419,892,908, or \$47,208 a mile.

The United States census report for 1890 says Kansas assessments average 19 per cent. of true value. Had the railroads in 1893 been assessed at 19 per cent. of their capitalization and liabilities they would have paid a tax on about \$80,000,000. But the board took the pains to get more reliable data, than either the census report or the railroad returns, and assessed then at \$61,731,000 which was less than 15 per cent. of what they reported their liabilities at.

There has been much comment and criticism on the printed report of 1894 and the reduction that shows in behalf of the Santa Fe company from the valuations of 1893. This criticism has been mostly in a quiet way, by wire pullers and ward heelers who had evidently been posted for the purpose, but these criticisms have not been half what they would have been if the papers of either side

felt at liberty to look at the sores. The whole matter has been so adroitly manipulated in behalf of the Santa Fe company, that the papers of both sides understand they are living in glass houses, and for that and other reasons have been induced to hunt through Armenia and Cuba for important news.

3. SLIPPED A COG.

The genuine report of the board for 1894 has never been published; nor have the full taxes it levied on the Santa Fe company been collected by many thousands of dollars. The report which was printed that year, several months later than usual, showed a reduction from the valuation made by the Board (in round numbers) of \$1,420,000, of which reduction the Santa Fe system got the benefit of \$1,410,000.

The interest of political parties *should*, and the cause of good government *does*, require that, if these enormous changes were accidents, provisions be made to prevent "bunching" such clerical accidents in one company's accounts and on one side of the ledger. If they were designed, public sentiment is still loyal and true enough, whatever public servants may happen to have it in their power to bring censure on their party, to condemn such proceedings. It is a mistaken conclusion—a tainted judgment that says that party interest requires the condoning of such transactions. Party interest requires that a party retain the confidence of the public, which it cannot do without condemning such performances, and its faithless servants. It then can be censured only for the mistake in selecting its servants, and the servants will bear the responsibility of the wrong. Condoning their follies or defending their faults, it does not deserve and cannot expect public confidence.

4.

OLD FRIENDS.

At first thought the general silence of the Republican papers on this matter seemed strange, but it was not. It was what they call "good politics" to keep still. It showed the harmony and sympathetic co-operation between that party and the Santa Fe company, and was natural enough. They were not only glad of the favor shown their party's friend, but they could see it gave the incoming administration a chance to repeat and enlarge the favor.

5.

CORNERED POPULISTS.

The enemies of the Peoples party were satisfied. If the *Status quo* could be maintained they could make the Populists carry the censure. The party was in a corner. Their papers were muzzled. Leaders who understood the facts could not satisfactorily explain the situation and they let their party take the blame by trying to cover up its causes. Workers in the townships and precincts heard rumors, and charges and various stories, but they could not meet or parry them. The siren's song of party interest had cut their communications.

The Republican workers had all the facts necessary, with such variations as their political methods and experience prescribed, and they used them with telling effect. An extract from a letter of one of our present Representatives to me, written last February, will illustrate the point. He says:

"For instance on the farm adjoining mine are three brothers, who are nominally populists, but they learned of that R. R. assessment scandal the night before election in '94 and as a result voted for Overmeyer and his ticket; and I, thinking that our men were too honorable for such a thing, tried to convince them, with the result that they voted against me also."

There was then no chance for the Populists to learn the facts except through those concerned in the transaction, or from the enemy. If the changes in the report were mistakes, how could the Republican heelers get information (?) showing a scandal before the report was sent from the auditor's office to the state printer?

6.

FIRST REPORTS.

At that time I had heard a story of a large reduction in the aggregate, but knowing how the members of the Board had talked, how they had voted and what valuations they had decided on, I looked on the charge as too absurd to investigate. But when the figures appeared in the papers, it was at once apparent to those who knew that the board had voted at one of their first meetings in 1894 to make no changes in valuations that would materially alter the aggregate assessment from that of 1893, that the report was not the genuine one.

7.

REPORTS CONFIRMED.

On Monday, Nov. 26th, I received a *Topeka Press* of the 23d which contained a statement that the assessor's report on railroad valuation showed a reduction of about \$2,000,000, and I immediately wrote to the secretary of state requesting him to go and examine the original minutes, and let me hear his conclusion on the cause for the discrepancy, as soon as convenient.

On Dec. 3d the secretary replied as follows:

Hon. Percy Daniels,

DEAR SIR:—Your letter at hand. We are at present so overwhelmed with work in this office that I can hardly find time for anything outside, but have looked up the matter of R. R. assessment and find the following. The reductions of the board on branch lines amount to about \$700,000. The reductions of telegraph (by change of rate) \$400,000. The remain-

ing reductions come by the several companies reporting a less amount of rolling stock and material than before, and the difference in side tracks, etc.

There is now no remedy so far as I can see * * *

Hurriedly yours,

R. S. OSBORN.

As I had my memoranda of every change from the valuation of '93 which the Board voted to make, I took the mileage table, and "extending" the several changes on track and right of way, found,—as was the intention when the changes were made—that the additions and reductions about balanced, showing no material change in the aggregate. This showed that the information that the Secretary got before answering my letter was not reliable. The figures on the telegraphs I thought subject to the same suspicion.

Dec. 8th I called at the auditor's office and examined some of the assessment books, and saw that many of the *valuations fixed by the Board* had not been "extended" or carried out by the clerks; and then got proof sheets of the tables from the state printer, and saw that these changed valuations were about to be published as the work of the Board.

8.

A PROTEST FILED.

I then decided to call a meeting to give the Board an opportunity to straighten the matter; but the auditor was at home sick, the attorney general was away and the treasurer left that afternoon to be gone several days; so a meeting was then impossible, and I wrote a protest against further work being done on the report by the printer until the Board could meet and decide what should be done about it. In this protest I, as chairman of the Board, demanded that my protest against its completion and circulation as a valid report, be given a place therein unless it was corrected. Before filing this protest I

took it to Judge S. H. Allen at his room, and talked the matter over with him and made a little change at his suggestion. The assistant secretary of state, D. C. Zercher, was there part of the time during our talk. After making the change suggested by Judge Allen I filed it in the secretary's office (the secretary of state being secretary of the printing board) with Mr. Zercher, as a record of that office, and came home the next day expecting to be notified what action the Printing Board took on my protest. The three members of that board comprise a majority of the assessors. Not hearing as I expected, I wrote the secretary Dec. 11th to learn why, as follows:

Hon. R. S. Osborn, Secretary of State.

DEAR SIR:—I am expecting to hear from the printing board, in reply to my protest against the changes in the assessment (as they are a majority of the assessors), either approving or disapproving the changes made. These changes, I see by the proof sheets, make a reduction in main track of one and a quarter millions. The proper way to get at a correction of the report I think, is for the printing board to reply requesting me as chairman, to call a meeting of the assessors.

The report as furnished the printer shows a different value per mile of main track on several lines, from that decided on by the board at any session when I was present and the minutes do not show that the valuation of the lines in which these changes appear, had been reconsidered and changed. Unless the discrepancies and alterations in the report can be rectified, I must file with your committee a protest for publication to be appended to the report. The minutes now show that I was present when most of these changed valuations were made, while part of them you are positive as you told me, were not made at all.

I am sorry I could not get the board together when I learned of the situation last Saturday.

Yours Truly,

PERCY DANIELS.

The Secretary replied as follows:

Office of Sec'y of State,
TOPEKA, KANSAS, Dec. 14th, 1894.

Hon. Percy Daniels, Girard, Kansas.

DEAR SIR:—Yours at hand. Mr. Little and myself—Mr. Biddle being absent for two weeks, ordered no further work to be done on the report of the R. R.

Assessors until further notice. The press of care in finishing up the canvas of the election returns, put the notifying you out of my mind. I should have done this several days ago. Mr. Biddle will not be back for over a week yet.

The report has been printed and any changes made will have to be made by pages of corrections added to the back of the report as there is no funds left for reprint. You can call the committee (board) together at your convenience, but I would suggest that you would be more likely to get a full board between Christmas and New Year's than any other time. yet take your own time.

Very Resp'ty,

R S. OSBORN.

9. A MEETING OF THE BOARD CALLED.

I went to Topeka again the 20th and found the reports had been completed and were being circulated. I then called a meeting of the board the 22nd. The auditor and treasurer were not present. We voted to request the auditor to furnish a tabulated statement of the amount of changes made from last year's valuation, by order of the board; and adjourned to Jan. 4th, 1895.

As the demand that my protest be given a place in the report if it was completed and circulated without the changes necessary to make it conform to the votes of the board, had been denied by its completion and circulation when I supposed work on it had been stopped by order of the printing board, I then made a statement for the public giving the more important of the facts above stated, sending copies to the *Topeka Capital, Journal* and *Press*.

10. TWO UNINVITED GUESTS.

Jan. 4th the Board met according to adjournment. All the members were present. In calling them to order, I stated that the meeting from which this was an adjournment, was called to inquire into the cause for the great difference between what we supposed we had done when we adjourned on the 16th

of June, and what the auditor's report said we had done; and to find out if possible, when our computations as a board showed no practical change on main track valuations, how the Santa Fe company got a reduction of \$1,300,000, on that schedule.

The auditor's statement showed nothing satisfactory and the minutes of our regular meetings were not to be found. After making some comparisons between '93 and '94 main track schedules where the '94 figures were materially different from those the Board had made, and listening to Mr. Prather's statement that he had not been able to give the matter his personal supervision as he was sick and away from the office much of the summer and fall, but the only explanation he could give of these discrepancies was that they were mistakes, we turned to the schedule of buildings of the Santa Fe company and found reductions of from five to twenty per cent. running through a large part of this list. As we had voted to assess these the same as "last year" this was as much of a surprise as the reduction in track values.

I then moved "that the auditor be instructed to correct his report; and to certify to the counties the proper additional amounts to be taxed, and that the tax be added to this year's assessment." I listened for a "second" to the motion. It did not come. No question was before the meeting, but the proposition was discussed. Then a long and desultory talk about the gratification it would give the enemy to get us into a quarrel over the question, followed.

11. KING PARTY AND A SPECTRE COME.

An unwelcome guest appeared. It was the mightiest fool in the land—the biggest power save one—the devil's vice-gerent in America—

King Party. The people's interests were indefinitely postponed. King Party took the floor and what do you think he said? Not "let us pray;" but "hear me bray." A majority of the Board, I have no doubt, preferred to have the wrong righted; but King Party stood by every chair with his cutlass and his whip. He was not there for amusement but came on business; and standing his whip before each member's chair he said "Beware! I gave you your position and your first allegiance is to me. Serve your people when you can without disrupting any plan of mine, but when their cause and mine conflict you *must* remember me. I move this meeting adjourn."

Another uninvited spectre came. The gilt letters on his cap were A. T. & S. F. R. R. and addressing the preceding speaker, spoke as follows: "Thou hast well said my noble friend King Party. So mote it be. Thy timely motion has from me a willing, hearty, second." And it was so. King Party and his spectre friend adjourned the meeting.

12. AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

In chapter II I have referred to the grip of a great corporation. The important question in this connection is: How much of a foothold has this giant corporation got within our party lines? Can they get Populist assent to their schemes to enable them to find opportunities to shirk a goodly per cent. of their proper public burdens, and lay them on an over-taxed people, as they have done in this case? Is the People's Party ready to sanction the triple alliance? If not, as Emerson says, they should speak in '96 what they think in '96.

13. THE SENATE ORDERS AN INVESTIGATION.

During the first week of the following session of the Legislature (Jan. 1895) the Senate, on motion of Senator Taylor, ordered an investigation, and I appointed a committee for the purpose. That was the situation when the Republican State Officers were inaugurated and the Populists relieved at the opening of the second week of the session; and I came home, expecting to be called back to testify before the committee.

14. A TRIPLE ALLIANCE ANNULS THE ORDER.

The committee could do nothing without an appropriation. The session was nearly over before the call was made. Appropriation bills were crowding. An item for the necessary funds was put into the miscellaneous appropriation bill—House No 1031—by a Senate amendment, but King Party haunted the corridors. His spectre friend was a power in the lobby. The Republican side of the Legislature was ready to support anything their powerful ally required. Party interest among Populists was chaperoned by the same spectre that seconded his motion for the adjournment of the Board of Assessors. They sat side by side in committee meetings. They went hand in hand to the conferences over appropriation bills, and when one said at one of these meetings, "Let that item for an appropriation to investigate the railroad assessments be stricken out," the other said, "so mote it be," *and it was so*. The report was then accepted by the Senate.

It was a great mistake which the friends of good government now see and regret, and the Santa Fe crowd and their allies chuckle over.

The same questions as before naturally recur to every friend of reform and of good government. How much of a foothold has this powerful corporation got among Populist leaders or Populist officials, that, with the aid of King Party, it can in so clandestine a way, accomplish its purpose.

People may well inquire how it happened that the virtuous purpose of the Senate, expressed in the resolution of the first week of the session, was undermined and swamped before the close. Was it the enervating influence of a winter in Topeka that annulled the purpose to investigate, or was it the insidious work of the third house?

15. A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

A few days after the adjournment, the ex-auditor and secretary of the Populist Board issued a Manifesto in which he attempted to show that even after the changes from the assessment of '93, the Santa Fe was still overtaxed.

His successor, the present auditor, at once wrote me that the Santa Fe company would use Mr. Prather's statement in a fight for a further reduction, and asked me to let him know if there was anything in Mr. Prather's report. I give his letter and my reply in full, except a few lines of mine that would be a repetition.

STATE OF KANSAS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF STATE AUDITOR,
Topeka, Kan., March 13, 1895

Col. Percy Daniels,

Girard, Kansas.

MY DEAR SIR AND FRIEND:—I herewith enclose you an article that appears in the Kansas City Times Sunday morning, March 17th, which I think shows up false on its face, and is intended to be misleading. I also notice that the Santa Fe System will use Prather's statement in a fight for a still further reduction before the new State Board of Railroad Assessors. I have no desire whatever to show any

partiality as far as I am concerned towards any of the railroads in the state, but think that all should bear their equal proportion of taxation.

Now I find that the total mileage of the Santa Fe in the state is 2855.22. This includes main line and branches. I also find that the assessed valuation of said property for 1894 was \$21,470,083. This, divided by the number of miles, 2,855, would give an average assessed value per mile of \$7,169.90. I also find that the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis in 1894 had a mileage of 256 miles (or 255.98) assessed at \$2,797,305. This includes main line and branches of said Memphis road. This would show an average assessment per mile of \$10,927. I only use these two for an illustration. You know as well as I that the Southern Kansas Division known as the Pittsburg and Girard Division, is certainly a better paying branch than the Cherryvale Division of the Memphis road, and you can see that the Memphis road averaged over \$3,000 a mile more than the Santa Fe. Now why Mr. Prather should make this report is more than I can understand. There may be things pertaining to this railroad assessments that I do not know, and I write kindly asking you to let me know if there is anything in this published report of Mr. Prather's.

Very Truly Yours,

GEO. E. COLE.

GIRARD, KANSAS, March 27th, 1895.

Hon. Geo. E. Cole,

State Auditor,

Topeka, Kansas.

DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 18th was duly received; also the paper with table made by your predecessor, from figures found in the Auditor's report of '94. I had noticed the table and the comments thereon before.

You say you find the average assessment per mile of the Santa Fe is \$7,170, and of the Memphis line it is \$10,927. You mean rather that you find figures which indicate that. That part of your letter I will leave till after I touch on the subject of railroad valuation generally.

The value of railroad property depends on many factors, beginning with the road-bed, its condition and quality, and ending with the most important item, net earning capacity. This is dependent upon the business it does,—the competition it meets and the per cent. of traffic receipts required to meet operating expenses.

It would be as unfair to put the same acreage value upon all Kansas farms, as mileage value upon all her railroads. Nor is the *value* of a railroad dependent upon the amount of fraud the management has been able to perpetrate on "innocent purchasers" or duped associates. These may effect the value of the stock and so called securities (which occasionally become insecurities,) but not of the road itself.

The purpose of the Board in '93 was to combine the value of the fixed plant and its appurtenances, and the average business in fixing values.

The train mileage per mile of track,—the receipts and operating expenses per train-mile,—the amount of rolling stock used,—and the proportion of siding to main track, are a comparative index of the latter, and yet not positive. The necessity for a large per cent. of side track for instance, depends not only on the volume of business, but the leading kind. The value of sidings and rolling stock too, swell the total value per mile.

Some roads have nearly as much side track as main, like the Joplin, the K. C., T. & W. and some of the terminal lines; while many, including the immense C. K. & W. system of the Santa Fe Co. have less than 10 per cent. The G. & P. has a much smaller per cent. than the Cherryvale division of the Memphis Co. of which you wrote. The following gives the per cent. of *value* of *sidings* and *rolling stock* to main, on several lines:

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Mo. Pac., Council Groves division | 10 per cent. |
| Mo. Pac., Ossawatimie division | 13 per cent. |
| Mo. Pac., Atchison section | 30 per cent. |
| A. T. & S. F., C. K. & W. division | 15 per cent. |
| A. T. & S. F., Girard and Pittsburg division | 41 per cent. |
| A. T. & S. F., main line | 56 per cent. |
| A. T. & S. F., Joplin division | 75 per cent. |
| Memph. S., main line | 53 per cent. |
| Memph. B. S. division | 65 per cent. |
| C., R. I. & P., whole Kansas system | 20 per cent. |
| U. Pacific, Kansas division | 17 per cent. |
| M. K. & T., main line | 27 per cent. |

These figures are from the report of '93 as the assessment of '94 which I helped to make has never been printed. The report which appears in the auditor's report showing about \$2,000,000 reduction in the aggregate, and \$1,700,000 in the Santa Fe lines, was made after the Board adjourned sine die, June 16th, and is something I know nothing about.)

These figures on many roads are something of a criterion in estimating the comparative value of main track, right of way and franchise; but on roads that apportion their whole rolling stock to their whole system, like the Union Pacific that had \$792.52 per mile, and the Memphis with \$3.335, they are not; as there the main track with a high valuation, is coupled with a rolling stock value below what belongs to it, and the low rate main is coupled with an excessive value of rolling stock.

An equitable assessed value must necessarily be a compromise between cost and earning capacity. Some branch lines in Kansas are operated at a loss. The value of these, figured on earning capacity would be a minus quantity; but there is an intrinsic value in their rails, right of way, depots and grades, and they help to gather a current of commerce for the main lines. Others like the U. P. whose state-

ment in the '93 report of the R. R. Commissioners, shows that their operating expenses are but 57 per cent. of their traffic earnings; and the Santa Fe with a ratio of operating expenses to traffic earnings of 63½ per cent., which do an immense business and have a great earning capacity should not—ignoring their cost—be taxed solely on their earning capacity. On page 555 of the last commissioner's report—first column—you will find a condensed list of figures from the returns of the companies, giving the proportion of operating expenses to traffic earnings on the different systems. And on page 499 you can find the stock and bonds per mile, both on the whole system and also in Kansas. The figures on page 555, while useful in this connection, would be very valuable if equally reliable, and if they were made under a specific system that required uniformity; but sometimes the managers want to deceive the stockholders or aid speculating friends (or themselves), and many of them habitually intend to deceive the public for the purpose of evading public burdens and for preventing the public from knowing how well they are fulfilling their mission as common carriers. These questions you will find discussed in the Assessor's Report for '93 with quotations from leading authorities. How far these figures on traffic operations can be relied on, you should be able to form some idea.

As a sample, the Frisco, with a Kansas mileage of 435, and a total of 1328, reports for whole line, the per cent. of expenses to earnings 60.83; but of the Kansas part 91.99. And the Atchison, with 4,582 miles, of which 2,487 are in Kansas, reports the per cent. of net profits from operation in Kansas greater than on the whole system; the per cent. of expenses being, for the system 63.53; and for the Kansas mileage 63.21; making the *profits* from operation \$36.47 on the whole system and \$36.79 on the Kansas mileage, of every \$100.00 received from traffic. The Board in '93 went back of these returns and got information from other and independent sources; and I spent several weeks that year outside of the time occupied in inspection and the sessions, in examining authorities, in comparing reports, and in figuring percentages. I also worked nearly a month last year before the Board met, reviewing the work of '93, and satisfied myself that in the distribution of public burdens among the railroad corporations, justice required no material change.

In reference to the comparison you make between the average value per mile of the Santa Fe lines, and those of the Memphis Co., the former has a number of non-productive branches, that seem to have been started with the idea that it was necessary to keep laying steel,—to go somewhere,—which habit was never developed or allowed to sprout in the Memphis Co. The latter are the fairest in their reports, and generally one of the best managed companies in the state: conservative, steady and level headed 365 days in the year.

Another thing that impairs your comparison of mileage values: you evidently use the figures in the printed report which are not those of the original assessment, the only one I know anything about.

As I said before, the assessment which I helped to make has never, to my knowledge, been printed. When or by whom these valuations were made which appears in the Auditor's report, is something I have not learned.

The great reduction which this report shows from the original assessment of '94 on the Santa Fe lines, makes, as your comparison leads you to conclude, the Memphis lines too high or the Santa Fe too low. I am satisfied that the latter is the fact, and that the valuation of the Santa Fe lines should be put back to what they were when the old Board adjourned sine die—June 16th, 1894.

When the Board of that year first met, they decided to make no changes in valuation that would materially alter the aggregate assessments from that of '93. Some changes were made in main track, but the aggregate valuation on this item would vary from that of '93 less than one-tenth of one per cent. and my recollection is that this change was an increase. Telegraphs were reduced, and I presume the figures in the report showing \$101,500 reduction, are correct. Pullman cars were raised 12½ per cent. making \$16,500. Other rolling stock was assessed at the same rate as the previous year but some of the companies returned very much less than in '93 and this fact doubtless accounts for the reduction of \$362,059 in the report. Tools, materials and cash show a reduction of \$95,920 from the same reason, but you will notice that the Memphis Co., reported no reduction of tools, materials and cash: and they also reported an increase of rolling stock.

The only legitimate reduction in the report of '94 from the valuation of '93 that I can account for (presuming these to be correctly figured) are as follows:

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Rolling Stock | \$362,059 |
| Telegraph..... | 101,456 |
| Tools, etc..... | 95,920 |
| Total..... | \$559,435 |

The differences between the valuation of '93 and that which appears in the Auditor's report as that of '94 (and which appears to have superseded the original assessment) are as follows:

REDUCTIONS.

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Main Track..... | \$1,300,001 |
| Side Track..... | 29,455 |
| Buildings | 93,943 |
| Rolling Stock..... | 362,059 |
| Tools, Materials & Cash..... | 95,920 |
| Telegraph..... | 101,456 |
| Total..... | \$1,982,867 |

INCREASE.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Pullman cars | \$ 16,715 |
| Net reported reductions | 1,966,352 |
| Deducting from the total reductions of..... | 1,982,867 |
| The legitimate reduction of..... | 559,465 |

Leaves unaccounted for.....\$1,423,402

The Santa Fe property, Frisco included, was assessed in '93 at.....\$24,034,689

And the Auditor's report says it was

valued in '94 at 22,342,162

Showing a shrinkage of..... 1,692,527

Of this shrinkage in round numbers of..... 1,692,500

There is accounted for in the rolling stock,
telegraph, tools, materials and cash
reductions the sum of 280,100

Leaving unaccounted for \$1,412,400

An amount bearing a striking similarity to the aggregate unaccounted for shrinkage of all companies.

If you should add this sum to the amount you divide by the Santa Fe mileage to get the average value, you will have what the Board of Railroad Assessors valued them at, at the time of the *sine die* adjournment last June, and the Memphis Co. property is I think reported a little too high. The original assessment of that line did *not* carry the \$9000 per mile valuation to Paola (see page 406 of the report) but I have not gone over their valuation, as reported, carefully.

No sir! the purported assessment given in the Auditor's report for '94 is *not* a fair distribution of public burdens. It is not only unfair to the Memphis Co., but to all other companies except the Santa Fe.

Our Board made several changes in the Santa Fe main track schedules at its regular sessions,—raising four lines, beginning with the main line which we raised \$500 a mile west of Great Bend and lowering nine. This other document recognizes the original action of the Board in one of the four pieces we raised, (the Girard and Pittsburg,) and reduces nineteen. As the record of proceedings of the Board contains no minutes of, or reference to, any subsequent meeting, no legitimate changes could have been made. Nor is the record of proceedings consistent with itself as printed; as for instance on page 407 the minutes say the C. K. and W. division "be assessed the same as last year" Turning to page 198 you find it was valued "last year" ('93) on main track at \$4,341,799 with valuations ranging from \$4000 to \$6500 per mile Turning to schedule No 2 of '94 — (page 429) you find it all rated at \$4000 a mile making a reduction of over \$595,000. Turning again to page 407 you find immediately under where it says the C. K. & W. be assessed the same as last year, it specifies several pieces of this same division, rating them different from that of '93 and some of them different also from what was carried into the table.

I have answered your letter in the spirit in which I think it was written, believing it to be the right of a public officer or board to request such information and suggestions from their predecessors—whether they be Greek, or Jew or Roman—as will simplify their work or help them to avoid error, and the duty of the latter to furnish it. Public office still remains a public trust, with those whose first incentive is the public weal.

In closing this long discussion of the questions you ask, I hereby protest as an ex-state officer and Chairman of the Board of Railroad Assessors against the use by the new Board, of what appears in the Auditor's Report as the valuations of the Santa Fe company's property, for 1894, as being any guide for their estimate or basis for their conclusions. If you lean on them you lean on a "broken reed," and I hope the new Board, ignoring every interest but the demands of justice and their duty to the whole people whose officers they are, will study this question sufficiently to see that instead of being relatively too high (if this reconstructed table of values is to be honored and legitimized as an assessment) as claimed by Mr. Prather in the statement you sent, this great change in the Santa Fe valuations not only does injustice to the other companies, but perpetuates a great wrong on the whole people of the state.

Yours truly,

PERCY DANIELS,
Ex-Lient. Governor.

To my letter Mr. Cole replied on April 6th, saying:

"On my arrival at the office to-day, after viewing the U. P. R. R. I find your favor of Mar. 27th. I have read the same over carefully, and wish to say that I most sincerely thank you for the ideas and pointers you give me in this communication. For my part I am anxious to equalize the assessment of all classes of property."

16. ONE GOOD TURN DESERVES ANOTHER.

At that time Mr. Cole considered the '94 valuations as published showed favoritism to the Santa Fe company, and when the Board met the next month they came with their demand for a further reduction. My letter in reply to Mr. Cole supported his conclusions that that company was *underclared*; but when they asked for *another reduction*, backed by the ex-auditor's manifesto, does anyone suppose they were refused by their friends at the

capitol? Their demands were granted to the amount of over \$650,000 on the Santa Fe and the Frisco, making a reduction of over \$2,000,000 in two years.

17. SPIKED GUNS.

And what did the Populist papers have to say over this reduction for the Santa Fe, and raising the assessment on other roads nearly enough to cover it? Ordinarily they would have opened with chain shot on the indomitable and yet plastic friends of this great corporation. Their silence was not from any approbation of the wrong; but they have a skeleton locked in their closet. It was a mistaken judgment that forced them to lock it in, but they were muzzled. If they opened on these "Redeemers" the counter-fire might disturb their skeleton, and so they kept still.

The rank and file of Populism do not believe in such situations. They know if their officials followed their instructions such a situation could not exist. They would, if the facts were clearly seen, repudiate with a mighty shout the work of the cabal that has given the Santa Fe company such great favors, and while muzzling their press, has silenced the defenders of Republican corruption. Their workers are certainly as much entitled to understand the merits and demerits of the situation over this question as the Republican workers; and the party is entitled to an opportunity to say whether it approves or condemns the work of the officers who are responsible for it, whether it was by accident or design; but as said before they cannot correctly analyze and label what they but dimly see.

This review of these assessments is to enable the people to understand the favoritism which the Santa Fe company now enjoys and to assist them to reach their own conclusions as to the methods by which it has been accomplished, and decide for themselves how fully they meet their approbation.

18. A GUARDED WOOD PILE.

The agents and attorneys of the Santa Fe company have been sharp enough to run a *nigger* into the Populist end of the state *wood pile* (to use a slang phrase) and set a Populist guard to keep him there. The Republicans could have let him out, but they knew their friend, the company, wanted to run a bigger nigger in their end of the wood pile to reward them for favors and support, and they knew no better way to aid them than to keep the first one where he was—and maintain the status quo. So they helped the Populist guard, while the company's agents were inducing the new Board to grant them greater favors than they were given by the changes made in the report of '94 after the Populist Board adjourned and before it was turned over to the state printer.

When the Board of '95 issued their report it was seen that they had not only endorsed the altered valuations of '94, but they had granted the Santa Fe company the favor of more than \$600,000, further reductions; and the bigger *nigger* crawled into the Republican end of the *wood pile*. Now they watch each other while the Republican King Party and the Santa Fe company enjoy the fruits of their strategy, and the people "pay the freight." Do the people enjoy it?

19. WATCHMAN! WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Because the laws governing the rise and progress and decay of nations are inexorable:

Because it seems certain that on the Populist party rests the last hope of the Republic:

Because, to successfully work out its mission, it must uphold its righteous purpose and maintain its youthful vigor:

Because to do this, it must retain public confidence *by enforcing*, among its honored servants, *the maxim that*, with public officials, *king party*, who has come to be as much of a despot as his rival in strength and his colleague in corruption—the great corporations, *must always hold a subordinate place*:

Because, *condoning such favoritism* as this chapter discusses *will establish* with us a *precedent*, that has long been the rule with our opponents, *of yielding* without resistance *to the grip of a great corporation*:

Because *if we establish such a precedent*, we *will* shake the faith of the people in the sincerity of our motives and *cast to the winds the opportunity that lies in our path*.

From Justice's honored castle,
To hurl the wild Pretender
And install our old Defender.

For these reasons I have invaded the records of official correspondence and mixed therewith some facts from personal memoranda, that I might, while showing the greater servility of our wily opponents to a great Kansas representative of corporate power and greed, lay a warning torpedo on the Populist track with a friendly hand. And I trust, if censured therefor by my party associates, that they may sometime realize that "I have been cruel only to be kind."



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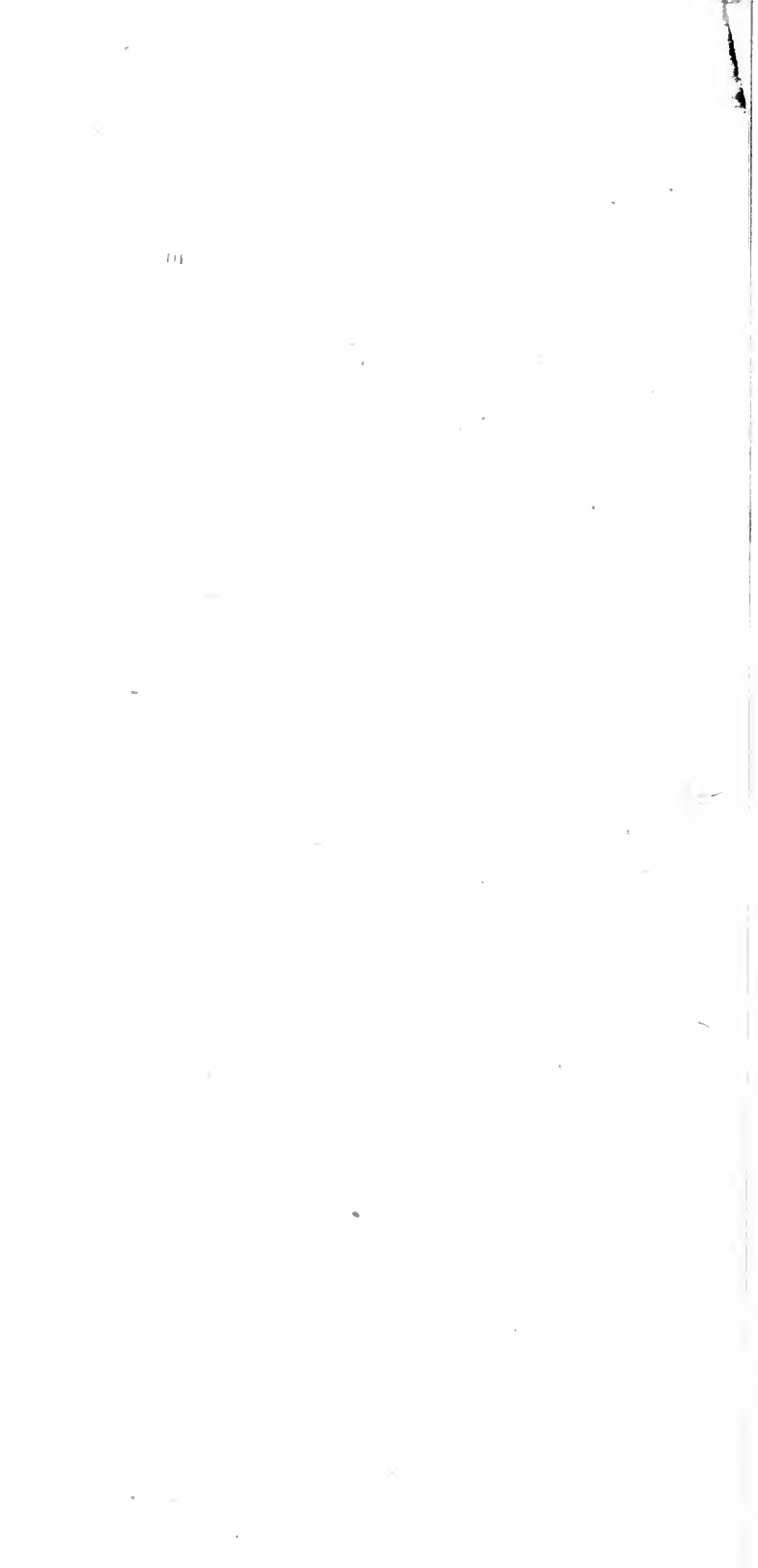
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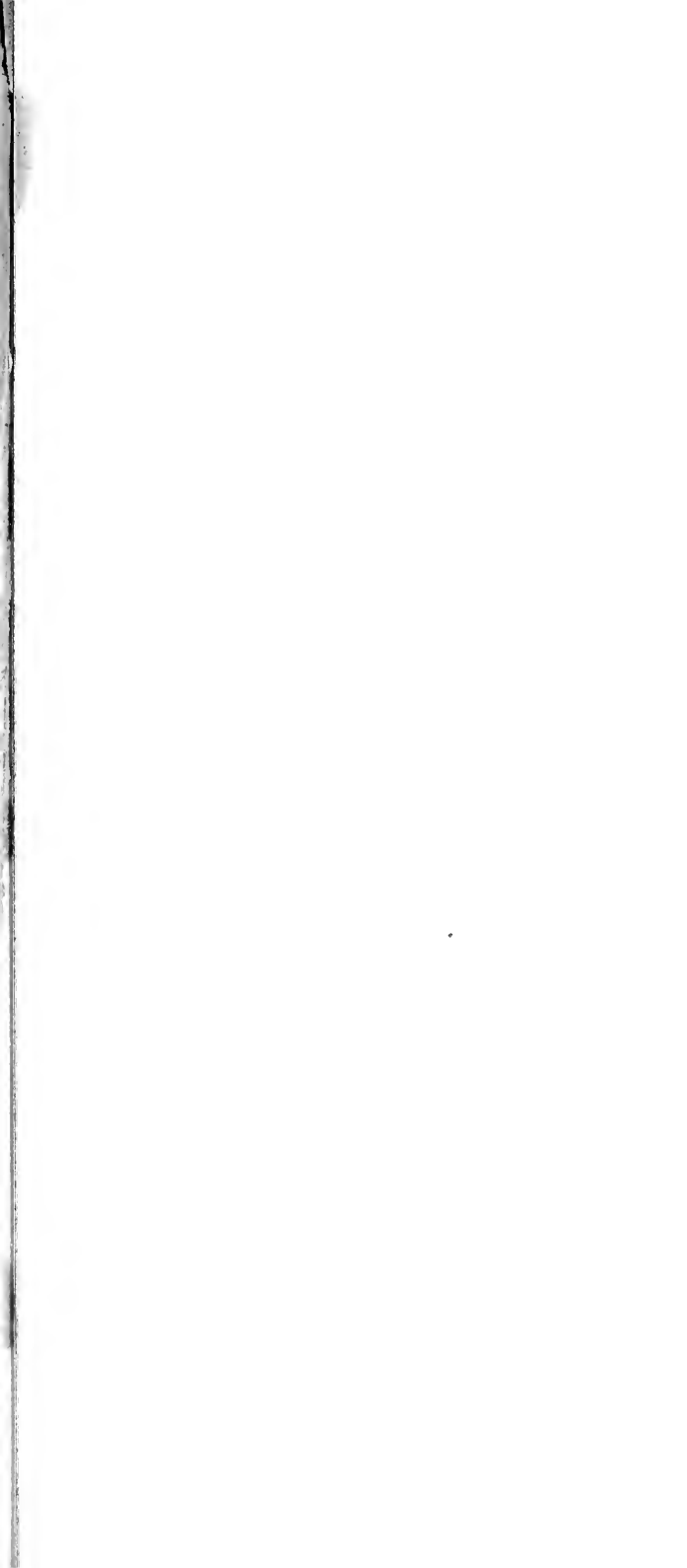
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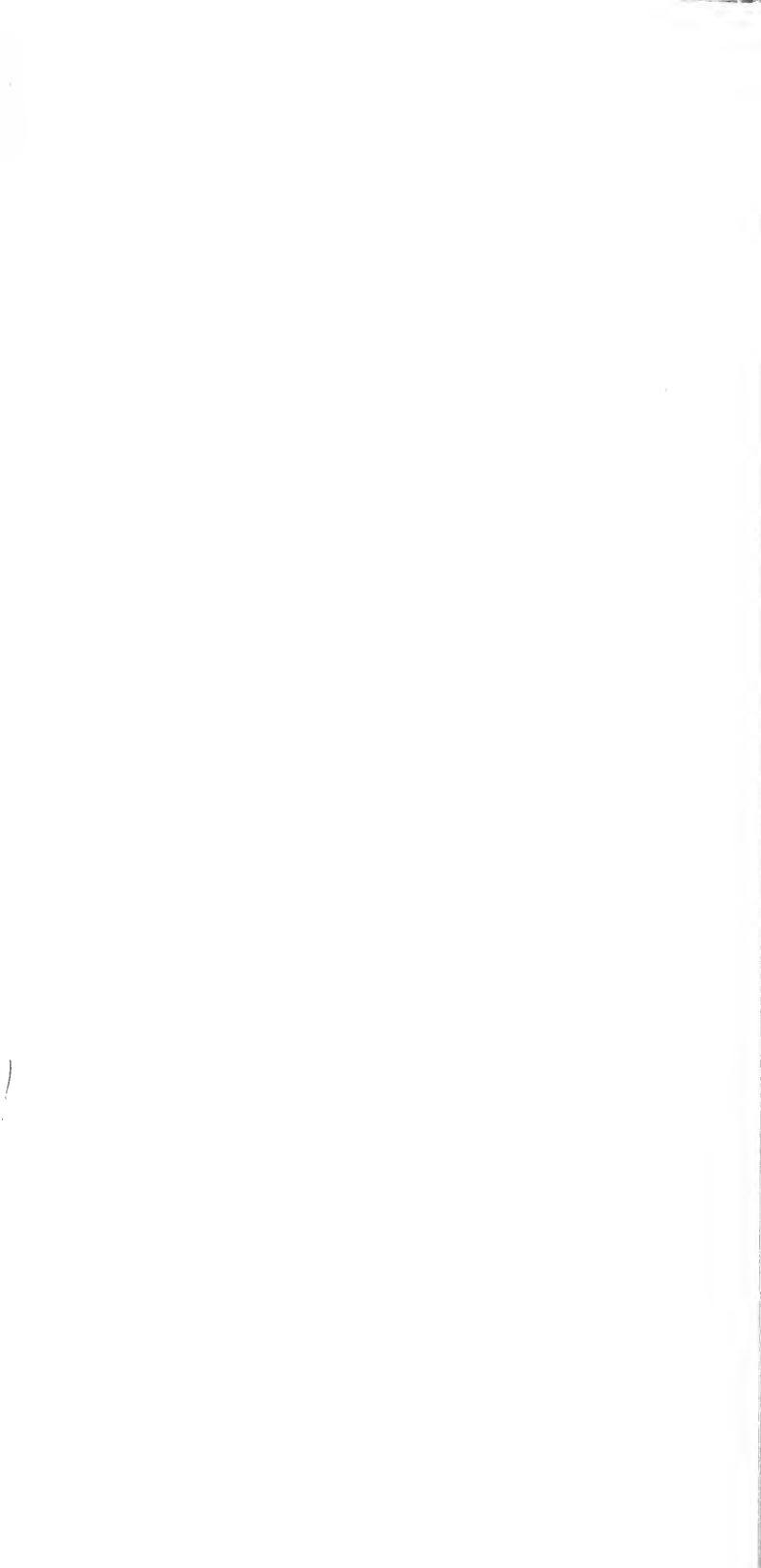
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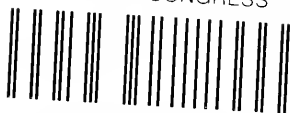








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